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ARCHÆOLOGIA ÆLIANA:

OR,

Miscellaneous Tracts

RELATING TO ANTIQUITY.

PUBLISHED BY THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

NEW SERIES.

VOLUME VIII.



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STATUTES OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

AT THE ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, HELD IN THE APARTMENTS OF THE SOCIETY IN THE CASTLE OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, ON MONDAY, THE 4TH DAY OF FEBRUARY, 1878,

IT IS PROPOSED that the Statutes of this Society, which were made or passed at a General Meeting of the Society, held on the 6th day of February, 1813, and which have been from time to time altered under a provision contained therein, should be further altered, and that such further alteration should be effected by the total repeal of the existing Statutes, and the substitution of the Statutes hereinafter set forth, and such proposal having been announced and inserted in the transactions of a General Meeting held on the 2nd day of January last, IT IS RESOLVED, that the Statutes of this Society made and passed on the 6th day of February, 1813, and all other statutes, laws, rules, and regulations now in force, be and the same are hereby repealed, and that the Statutes hereinafter set forth shall be and are hereby adopted for the regulation and government of this Society.

I.—This Society, under the style and title of “THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE,” shall consist of ordinary and honorary members. The persons named in the first schedule hereunto subjoined are and shall be the present ordinary members, and the persons named in the second schedule hereunto subjoined are and shall be the present honorary members. Candidates for election as ordinary members shall be proposed in writing by three ordinary members at a general meeting, and be elected or rejected by the majority of votes of ordinary

Constitution
of the Society
and Election
of Members.

members at that meeting, unless a ballot shall be demanded by any member, which in that case shall take place at the next meeting, and at such ballot three-fourths of the votes shall be necessary in order to the candidates election. The election of honorary members shall be conducted in like manner.

Obligations
of Members.

II.—The ordinary members named in the said first schedule, and the ordinary members who shall be elected in manner above mentioned, shall be bound to conform to the Statutes for the time being and all future statutes, rules, and ordinances, and to pay in advance an annual subscription of £1 1s.; and so long as they so conform, and so long as they make such payment, and no longer, they shall be and continue ordinary members. The subscription shall be due on election and afterwards annually on the day of the Annual Meeting; but a member elected at or after the meeting in October shall be exempt from a further payment at the then next Annual Meeting.

Officers of
the Society.

III.—The officers of the Society shall consist of a Patron, a President, four Vice-Presidents, two Secretaries, twelve other members, who, with the President, Vice-Presidents, and Secretaries (shall constitute the Council), one Treasurer, and two Auditors. These several officers shall be elected annually, except the Patron, who shall be elected for life. The elections shall be out of the class of ordinary members by lists to be delivered by the members in person at the Annual Meeting. The Council shall have the charge of the property and the direction of matters not provided for by the general meetings of the Society. Five of the Council must be present in order to constitute a meeting of the Council, and the Council may regulate their times of meeting and the order of their proceedings as they may see fit.

Meetings of
the Society

IV.—A General Meeting of the members of the Society shall be held on the last Wednesday of every month, in the Castle of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. The meeting in January shall be the Annual Meeting, and shall be held at one o'clock in the afternoon, and the meeting in each other month shall be held at seven o'clock in the evening. But the Society or the Council may from time

to time appoint any other place or day or hour for any of the meetings of the Society. The presence of seven ordinary members shall be necessary in order to constitute the Annual Meeting, and the presence of five ordinary members shall be necessary in order to constitute any other meeting. A Special General Meeting may be convened by the Council if, and when, they may deem it expedient.

V.—The ordinary members only shall be interested in the property of the Society. The interest of each member therein shall continue so long only as he shall remain a member, and the property shall never be sold or otherwise disposed of (except in the case of duplicates hereinafter mentioned) so long as there remain seven members; but should the number of members be reduced below seven and so remain for twelve calendar months then next following, the Society shall be *ipsô factô* dissolved, and after satisfaction of all its debts and liabilities the property of the Society shall be delivered unto and become the property of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, if that Society be then in existence and willing to receive the same; and should that Society not be in existence and willing to receive the same, then the same shall be delivered to and become the property of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Property of
the Society.

VI.—All papers shall be read in the order in which they are received by the Society. A paper may be read by the author, or by any other member of the Society whom he may desire to read it, or by either of the Secretaries; but any paper which is to be read by the Secretaries shall be sent to them a week previous to its being laid before the Society.

Reading of
Papers.

VII.—The Council shall annually appoint three of the ordinary members (whether of the Council or not) to be, with the Secretaries, a Committee, to whom shall be entrusted the duty and charge of selecting papers for publication in the Transactions, and of revising and printing the papers so selected.

Committee of
Revisal.

Donations to
the Society.

VIII.—All donations to the Society shall be presented through the Council, and a book shall be kept in which shall be regularly recorded their nature, the place and time of their discovery, and the donors' names. All duplicates of coins, books, and other objects, shall be at the disposal of the Council for the benefit of the Society.

Duplicates.

Members en-
titled to pub-
lications.

IX.—Every ordinary member shall be entitled to such publications of the Society as may be printed after his election; and he may purchase any of the previous publications, of which copies remain, at the price at which the same are furnished to the booksellers.

The use of the
library.

X.—Each member shall be entitled to the use of the Society's library, subject to the condition (which applies to all privileges of membership) that his subscription for the current year be paid. Not more than two volumes at a time shall be taken out by any member. Books may be retained for a month, and if this time be exceeded, a fine of one shilling per week shall be payable for each volume retained beyond the time. All books must, for the purpose of examination, be returned to the library on the Wednesday preceding the Annual Meeting under a fine of 2s. 6d.; and they shall remain in the library until after that meeting. Manuscripts, and illustrated works of special value, shall not circulate without the leave of the Council. The Council may mitigate or remit fines in particular cases.

Repeal or
alteration of
Statutes.

XI.—These statutes, and any statutes which hereafter may be made or passed, may be repealed or altered, and new, or altered statutes, may be made and passed, at any Annual Meeting, provided notice of such repeal or alteration, and of the proposed new or altered statutes, be given in writing at the next preceding monthly meeting.

ARCHÆOLOGIA ÆLIANA.

DESCRIPTION OF ROMAN REMAINS DISCOVERED NEAR TO PROCOLITIA, A STATION ON THE WALL OF HADRIAN.

READ 2ND DECEMBER, 1876, BY JOHN CLAYTON, ESQ.

THE discovery in the month of October last, on the line of the Roman Wall not far from Chollerford, of an underground structure, containing an enormous quantity of Roman copper coins, twenty-four Roman altars, a massive votive tablet, with vases, rings, beads, brooches, and other objects, has excited much interest in the neighbourhood.

The inscriptions are numerous, but some of them much worn and obliterated. The writer, with the efficient aid of Prof. Hübner of Berlin, and Dr. Bruce, and with the benefit of the friendly suggestions of Mr. Charles Roach Smith and Mr. Carr-Ellison, is now able to give a satisfactory reading of these inscriptions, so far as they are legible, and to lay before this Society a statement, which is made somewhat in detail, from a conviction that, since the publication of the "*Lapidarium Septentrionale*," the antiquaries throughout the world rely on this Society for an authentic record of the Roman remains discovered in the four northern counties of England.

The traveller from Chollerford, seeking the site of the discovery, will proceed westward along the Military Road (so called from its having been made for military purposes after the rebellion of 1745) and, leaving the station of Cilurnum on the left, will, at the foot of the first ascent, come upon the Roman Wall, on the site of which the Road has been made; the foundation stones of the Wall are seen in the bed of the road, which is continued westward for several miles, either on the site of the Wall, or on the Vallum, which runs parallel with it. Passing Walwick and proceeding westward for about a mile, the

traveller reaches the summit of the hill beyond Tower-Tay, from which a striking view of the Roman works ahead is obtained. On the right the traveller will observe some portions of the Roman Wall standing to the height of six or seven feet, and the remains of one of the turrets, which it is said were placed along the Wall at the distance of 300 yards from each other, and which, with this exception, have been annihilated through the whole length of the Wall. Within the distance of a mile from the Tower-Tay Hill is reached the summit of the Limestone Bank, on which will be found the remains of gigantic Roman works, and from which there open two most magnificent views, one on the right hand looking upon the valley of the North Tyne, and closed on the north-east by the Cheviot Hills, and the other on the left hand looking upon the valley of the South Tyne, and closed on the south-west by Cross Fell and the mountains of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Yorkshire. From this point the Military Road is on the site of the Roman Wall, and in about a mile passes the station of Procolitia, of which the Roman Wall formed the northern rampart; and, in the lowest part of the valley, about 150 yards distant from the western rampart of Procolitia, and about 100 yards within (on the south side of) the Roman Wall, is the site of the recent discovery.

The structure, which has been now explored, did not escape the attention of that sagacious and diligent Northumbrian, John Horsley, who in his great standard work, the "*Britannia Romana*," published in 1732, after referring to the remains of buildings to the west of Procolitia, adds the following passage :—"About a year ago they discovered a well; it is a good spring, and the receptacle for the water is about seven feet square within, and built on all sides with hewn stones. The depth could not be ascertained, because, when I saw it, it was almost filled with rubbish. There had also been a wall about it, or a house built over it, and some of the great stones belonging to it were yet lying there. The people called it a cold bath, and rightly judged it to be Roman."¹

The Rev. John Hodgson, the able historian of Northumberland, in the part of his book published in 1840, after quoting the passage from Horsley, describes as then existing on the west side of Procolitia "a small stream, and by the side of it a very copious spring of pure water,"

¹ See Horsley's "*Britannia Romana*," p. 145.

and adds, "in the year 1817 the shaft of a column was lying near the spring, but some years before that time most of the works about it had been removed for building purposes by the tenants of the lands."

Dr. Bruce, in his complete and exhaustive work on the Roman Wall (the third edition of which was published in 1867), after referring to the passage in Horsley, tells us that no remains of the bath or well then existed.

From oral testimony it appears that subsequent to the year 1817, and within the last forty years, those parts of the walls of the surrounding buildings mentioned by Horsley which remained undisturbed by being underground, were partly dug up and used by the tenant of the lands. The copious spring of pure water mentioned by the historians was the source of a brook which flowed down the valley towards the river South Tyne; and the well minutely described by Horsley being filled to its brim with solid substances, formed part of the bed of the stream, until a very recent period, when the spring and the rivulet flowing from it suddenly disappeared, and the disappearance was ascribed to underground operations in a lead mine nearly two miles distant.

In the course of last summer, attention was drawn to this spot, which had always been looked upon as the site of a Roman bath; and in the month of October the excavation was commenced, which has disclosed an underground structure of massive masonry, measuring in the inside 8 feet 6 inches by 7 feet 9 inches, and a little exceeding 7 feet in depth, and within it a most miscellaneous collection of objects. Within a foot of the surface the excavator in digging down came upon a mass of copper coins, many of them of the debased metal of the lower Empire, and a human skull, the concave part upwards, filled with coins. He then began to meet with altars, and fragments of bowls of Samian ware, and glass, and bones of animals, and at the depth of about three feet found two elaborate vases of earthenware, both bearing inscriptions, and a sculptured stone representing three Naiads, or water-nymphs. He had then come upon copper coins, of superior metal, of the higher Empire, which continued, with an admixture of the inferior coins of the lower Empire, to the bottom. He met with the head of a statue, represented at the end of this paper, and with other vases without inscriptions, and with brooches, rings, beads, dice, and other objects; some of these,

viz., three bronze heads, one of a female and two of males, apparently representing Mirth and Melancholy, an ivory stylus, with a female head carved at its top, three brooches, and a dice, are shown on the adjoining Plate. Going still lower, the excavator continued to find altars, and nearly at the bottom he met with a massive votive tablet, dedicated to the goddess Coventina, by Titus Domitius Cosconianus, a Roman military Prefect, in command of the First Cohort of Batavian Auxiliaries. The lettering of this tablet is of the best character, and Professor Hübner, who from his learning and experience is entitled to decide, whilst others hesitate, pronounces this tablet to be of the date of Antoninus Pius, A.D. 140.

It is possible, and indeed probable, that the First Batavian Cohort should have been at Procolitia in the reign of Antoninus Pius. This cohort was doubtless one of the three Batavian cohorts, which, with two Tungrian cohorts, under Julius Agricola, fought and won the battle of the Grampian Hills, A.D. 84.¹ We next hear of this cohort as one of the cohorts in the army of Aulus Platorius Nepos (the general employed in building the wall), to which Hadrian, in the fourth year of his reign, A.D. 124, granted the right of Roman citizenship and liberty to marry.² It is probable that the First Batavian cohort was placed about this period in garrison at Procolitia; and experience of the Roman practice in other stations has shown us that the Romans treated the troops at the stations on the Wall as the basis of military colonies; and we find, from an inscription found within the walls of Procolitia, that the First Cohort of Batavians was there in the reign of Maximinus, A.D. 233,³ and that the same cohort was in the same place at the date of the *Notitia Imperii*, A.D. 400.

This tablet is inscribed to a goddess whose name is unrecorded on the roll of Roman divinities. On it the goddess is represented as floating on the leaf of a gigantic water lily, and waving in her right hand a branch of palm or of some other tree. On one of the altars, described below, she is called *Dea Nympha*, and it is therefore clear that this goddess was a water deity, which is confirmed by the representation of her attendants on the sculpture here shown of the three *Naiads*, each of them raising in one hand a goblet, and in the other hand

¹ See Tacitus' "Life of Agricola," cap. xxxvi.

² See "Lapidarium Septentrionale," p. 7.

³ See "Lapidarium Septentrionale," No. 157.



1



2



3



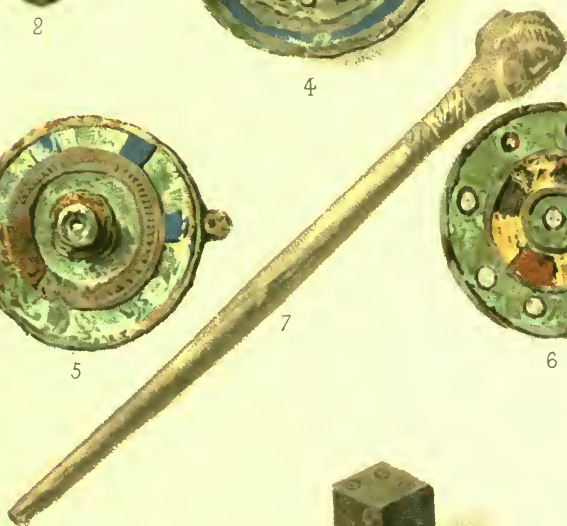
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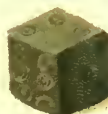
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8

holding a flagon from which is poured a stream of water, and by the existence of a well or reservoir for water within the walls of her temple. Whether the goddess Coventina was a British goddess, or a goddess



imported by the Roman soldier, is a question not easily decided, nor can any satisfactory derivation be found for her name. She was probably a local deity to whose name a Roman termination has been given, as in the case of the god of the Brigantes Cocidius, for whose name we do not attempt to find a derivation. It has been suggested, from a quarter entitled to weight, that the name of the goddess

Coventina may be derived from Convenæ, a people of Aquitania, inhabiting a country of springs, and addicted to the worship of water deities. A cohort of Aquitani has left a record of its presence at Procolitia, in the reign of Hadrian.¹

Some antiquarians are of opinion that, at least to some extent, the coins have been thrown into the well as offerings to the goddess, but this theory is open to the objection that an accumulation of copper, in so limited a space, must have spoiled the water; moreover, it does not seem to be within the range of probability that the votive tablet, bearing the image and superscription of the goddess, and the altars dedicated to her should have been thrown into the well in compliment to her, and least of all the ugly head, broken off from the bust, which forms the tail-piece on page 19. The position in which the several objects were found does not seem to throw any light on the order of deposit, the heavy votive tablet and two of the very small altars were found at the bottom of the well.

Another theory is that the Romans, weary of the new goddess, and convinced that her worship was a superstition derogatory to their ancient gods—

*“Vana superstitio, veterumque ignara Deorum,”*²

shut off the water, and applied to utilitarian purposes the reservoir which had contained it. The position of this structure outside the walls of the Fortress of Procolitia, the accumulation of coins of an early period, as well as those of later dates of Roman occupation, would seem to be inconsistent with this theory, unless it can be accounted for by the state of disquietude in which the garrison of this line of fortification must have lived, attended with occasional abandonment of their quarters, and occasional concealment of valuables which could not be easily removed.

Of this vast collection of copper, or in the language of numismatists, brass coins, a few dozens have lain in clay and been preserved; many of the rest are so much worn or corroded as to render it very difficult to identify them. Amongst those of the earlier period the coins of Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and of the wives of the two latter emperors greatly preponderate, and there is an unusual number of

¹ See “*Lapidarium Septentrionale*,” No. 138, p. 83.

² See “*Virgil Æneid*,” Lib. VIII., 187.

the coins of Antoninus Pius, which have Britannia on the reverse. The coins of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius are chiefly of first and second brass; the building of the Walls of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius would necessarily occasion a large influx of such coins into Britain. The earliest coin which has been as yet identified is of the reign of Claudius, A.D. 41, and it is expected that the series will end, as has happened in the stations of Cilurnum and Borcovicus, with Gratian, A.D. 383, though in the vast quantity as yet undeciphered there may be found both earlier and later coins. Four gold coins and some silver coins have been met with, which can scarcely have been part of the deposit; they have probably been accidentally lost by the curators of the copper treasury.

Let us now proceed to the examination of the inscriptions, which indicate various degrees of skill and education in the sculptors.¹

We will begin with the inscriptions on two very curious vases or cups of earthenware, which appear to have been offerings of Saturninus Gabinus to the goddess Coventina. The letters are distributed over the panels of each vase. From the letters on one of them (No. 1) we collect the following words:—

COVETINA AGVSTA VOTV
MANIBVS SVIS SATVRNINVS
FECIT GABINIVS.



Expanded reading.—Coven-
tinæ Augustæ votum manibus
suis Saturninus fecit Gabinus.



¹ In the original paper the readings of the inscriptions are not in general expanded. It is now thought desirable, acting on the precedent of the "Lapidarium Septentrionale," to add an expanded reading of each inscription. Engravings of each of the objects are also now given.—Ed.

It would appear from this inscription that the dedicator made the vase with his own hands. Whatever may be thought of the skill of Saturninus Gabinus as a manufacturer, his orthography is palpably defective. He gives to the goddess the title of Augusta, for which several precedents exist in the Nymphaeum, or Temple of the Water Deities at Nismes, the goddess addressed being styled Nympha Augusta.

The inscription on the vase No. 2 is a barbarous abbreviation of the inscription on vase No. 1; and, as Professor Hübner observes,

the dedicator, Saturninus Gabinus, must have been content to explain his intentions by the inscription on vase No. 1, or he must have placed unlimited faith in the intelligence of the goddess; and at any rate if No. 1 had been destroyed, No. 2 would have been utterly unintelligible.

The letters in the several compartments seem to be the following :—



CV? | GST?

SA | TV | R | N | GA | IV
I | BIN | S

giving us the name of Saturninus Gabinus,¹ preceded by

the principal characters in the words COVENTINA [AV]G[V]ST[A]. The last (or first?) compartment of the inscription seems to be occupied with the letter "v" or a leaf stop, and the reading may be—

VOTUM COVENTINÆ AUGUSTÆ
SATURNINUS GABINIUS.

¹ The "b" makes an approach in both the inscriptions on the vases (to use the language of printers) to the lower case "b."—ED.

The lettering and the expanded reading of the votive tablet and of the several altars bearing inscriptions, so far as they are legible, remain to be dealt with. More than one-half of the whole number of twenty-four altars found have either had no inscription, or the inscriptions have been wholly worn out, and some of these are unfinished as if in a course of preparation for an inscription.

The votive tablet on which the goddess is represented as floating on the leaf of a water lily, and holding a branch, has the following inscription :—

DEAE
COVVENTINAE
T · D · COSCONIA
NVS · PR · COH.
I · BAT · L · M ·

Expanded reading.—Deae
Coventinae Titus Domitius
Cosconianus Præfectus Co-
hortis primæ Batavorum
libens merito.



The lettering is perfect. The use of a double “v” in the name of Coventina is a peculiarity, and may be accidental, or an example of the practice of doubling the consonant, in order to give greater emphasis to the syllable; this peculiarity also occurs on the altar No. 10.

ALTAR No. 1.

This is the largest altar of the group. Its base is adorned with a couple of dolphins—symbols of a water deity.



On this altar alone is the epithet *Sanctæ*, applied to the goddess, and the letter “o” is used in the second syllable of her name.

DEAE SANCT
COVONTINE
VINCENTIVS
PRO SALVTE SVA
V·L·L·M·D

Expanded reading.—Deæ Sanctæ Coventinæ Vincentius pro salute sua votum libens lætus merito dicavit.

This is the only example of the use of “o” as the vowel in the second syllable of *Coventina*. The use of “E” instead of “Æ” in the dative case of the name of the goddess, which we find on this altar, frequently occurs in all these inscriptions.

ALTAR No. 2.

DEAE NIM
 FAE COVEN
 TINE MA · D
 VHVS · GERM ·
 POS · PRO · SE ET SV
 V · S · L · M

Expanded reading. — Deæ
 Nymphæ Coventinæ Manlius
 Duhus Germanus posuit pro se
 et suis votum solvens libens
 merito.



The spelling of the sculptor of this altar is barbarous. The addition of *nympha* to the title of goddess is evidence of her aquatic attributes.

ALTAR No. 3.

DIE COVE
 NTINAE A
 VRELIVS
 GROTVS
 GERMAN

Expanded reading. — Deæ Co-
 ventinæ Aurelius Grotus Ger-
 manus.

The use of “I” in place of “E,”
 and of “E” instead of “Æ” in the
 word Deæ is a barbarism.



These two altars are dedicated by recruits to the Batavian Cohort
 from the adjoining country of Germania.

ALTAR No. 4.

This altar is plain in its general character, and the name of the goddess is spelt *Conventinæ*.

The dedicator is probably a recruit who takes, or makes, for himself a Roman name of warlike sound.



DIIAII
CONVENTI
NAE BELLICVS
V · S · L · M · P

Expanded reading.—

Deæ
Coventi-
næ Bellicus
votum solvens libens merito
posuit.

The letters “E” in the word *Deae* on this altar are each represented by two down strokes or letters (II), a singularity which sometimes occurs in Roman inscriptions, and on this altar and also on No. 7 the goddess is called *Conventina*, a peculiarity which is probably due to the ignorance of the sculptor.

ALTAR No. 5.

This altar brings under our notice a cohort not previously met with on Hadrian's Wall.

DEAE CO
VENTINE
COH I CVBE
RNORVM
AVR CAMP
EST ER (?)
V

Expanded reading. — Deæ
Coventinæ Cohors prima Cuber-
norum Aurelius Campestris (?)

The lettering of the first four
lines of this inscription is good;
that of the three last confused.



The First Cohort of the Cugerni, or Cuberni, a people of Belgic Gaul, was one of the auxiliary cohorts serving in Britain in the Roman army. It was in Britain in the times of Trajan and Hadrian, and is included in the diplomas of citizenship granted by these emperors; it was in Scotland at the time of the building of the Antonine wall there, as appears from an inscription given by Horsley (Scot., XXV.); in all these instances it is called *Cugerni*. Tacitus, speaking of this people (Hist., V., 16, 18), calls them *Gugerni*; Pliny, in his Natural History (IV., 31), denominates them *Guberni*. There are some more letters on the altar, bearing probably the rank of the commanding officer of the cohort, but the letters are too indistinct to admit of a satisfactory reading.



ALTAR No. 6.

DAE COVEN
VI? · NOMATI
VS V·S·L·M

Expanded reading. — Deæ
Coventinæ... Nomatius votum
solvit libens merito.

This altar has on its front a female face, and also the peculiarity of a square focus, a peculiarity which is not confined to this altar. The face is without doubt meant to represent the features of the goddess.



ALTAR No. 7.

DE CONVE
NT
.....
OPTIO CH
GERMAN?.

The letters on this altar are very much defaced, and nothing can be collected from them except that it was dedicated to the goddess Coventina by an officer of the rank of optio, or lieutenant; the name of the goddess appears to have the letter "x" in the first syllable, as on altar No. 4.

ALTAR No. 8.

The focus of this altar is more than usually elaborate; the stone has been discoloured by contact with copper.

DEAE CO
VETNE GR
OTVS VTIB
ES S L V PRO
SA

Expanded reading. — Deae
Coventinae Grotus Utibes solvit
libens votum pro salute.¹



The letters on this altar have been very unskillfully executed by the sculptor, and there must be considerable uncertainty as to the reading of the inscription.

There are two more inscribed altars dedicated to the goddess Coventina, but they are so much defaced that the inscriptions, beyond

¹ This expansion of the inscription was given in the original paper as uncertain. In the first place it is not clear whether the name of the dedicatory is Grotus or Crotus; the six letters which follow are distinct, but their meaning is not clear. The dedicatory was doubtless a recruit from one of the barbarous nations, and, probably, the letters which follow Grotus or Crotus may indicate his connection with the Utus, a river which falls into the Danube; or the town of Utum, situate upon that river. It has also been suggested that the first letter of Utibes may be "v," the initial letter of Votum, one of the words of dedication with which inscriptions on altars generally conclude, but we find that letter in the last line, which is its proper place.

the name of the goddess, cannot be satisfactorily read. They are represented in the next two wood cuts, from a desire that every object on which there are the slightest remains of an inscription should be brought before the Society.

ALTAR No. 9.



DEAE COVEN
TINE
NVS
.
. . . VOTVM
.

This altar is unusually ornate. It bears on the face of its capital a series of pointed arches. On one of its sides is sculptured a branch, and on the other a genius having a cornucopiæ in the left hand and a coronal wreath in the other.

ALTAR No. 10.

This altar has the peculiarity noticed on the votive tablet, viz., the use of a double “v” in the name of the goddess. The title of Dea is not given to her; probably the title Augusta followed the name and has been obliterated.

COVVEN

 V · S · L · M



This altar, like an altar to Fortune found at Procolitia some time since, has an iron ring fastened into its focus by means of lead. This has probably been for the purpose of carrying or suspending the altar. Most of the remaining altars appear to have never had any inscription, and some of them are only partly finished in workmanship.

The only remaining inscribed altar found in this reservoir is a small altar dedicated to Minerva, by a Roman soldier, bearing the

name of Venico; the lettering of which is evidently not the work of a man of letters.

ALTAR No. 11.



DIE M
INER
VE VE
NICO
PR S
POS S V

Expanded reading. — Deæ Minervæ Venico pro salute posuit solvens votum.

An altar to Minerva could not have been placed in the well in compliment to Coventina, whatever may have been the object of placing in the well the altars dedicated to Coventina herself.

This seems to be a fit opportunity for bringing before this Society another altar dedicated to Minerva, which, since the publication of the "Lapidarium Septentrionale," has been found in the Station of Procolitia. It is a large well-shaped altar, and the lettering is good. The letters are—MINERVAE Q VNIA S PR COH. CI VSLM. The following reading is suggested for consideration—Minervæ Quintus Unias Præfectus Cohortis Civium votum solvit libens merito.

The auxiliary cohorts in the Roman service frequently add to their title that of Cives Romani, having received from the Emperor the grant of citizenship; but there is no example found in Britain of a

cohort styled Cohors Civium Romanorum. Several examples have been found on the continent. In the present case we have, apparently, a cohort styled simply Cohors Civium. Perhaps this may be regarded as an example of the cohorts Urbana holding an intermediate position between regular troops and an armed police.

The writer has thus laid before the Society an inadequate description of this extraordinary deposit of Roman objects. To examine effectually many thousand coins, nearly all more or less defaced, is a work of years rather than of days. The great variety of the objects deposited, and their singular intermixture, seem to defy any certainty of conjecture as to the past history or use of the well or reservoir in which they were found. We find coins, extending over more than three hundred years, twenty-four altars uninjured (except by wear), many unbroken vases, and a vast quantity of fragments of Samian ware of ornate character; we find enamelled brooches, and gilded beads, and mixed with these the tusks of wild boars, the horns of deer, and the bones of oxen and sheep. All that is attempted at present is to submit the facts to the consideration of antiquaries.



CONTINUATION OF DESCRIPTION OF, AND REMARKS ON,
THE TEMPLE OF COVENTINA AND ITS CONTENTS.

READ 2ND AUGUST, 1877, BY JOHN CLAYTON, ESQ.

At the monthly meeting of this Society, held on the 2nd December last, a paper was read descriptive of a well or receptacle for water, and its multifarious contents, which had been discovered in the month of October preceding, near to the station of Procolitia, on the Roman Wall, and which well or reservoir was, from its contents, supposed to have been within a temple of a water goddess bearing the name of COVENTINA, a divinity which had not previously been known or heard of.

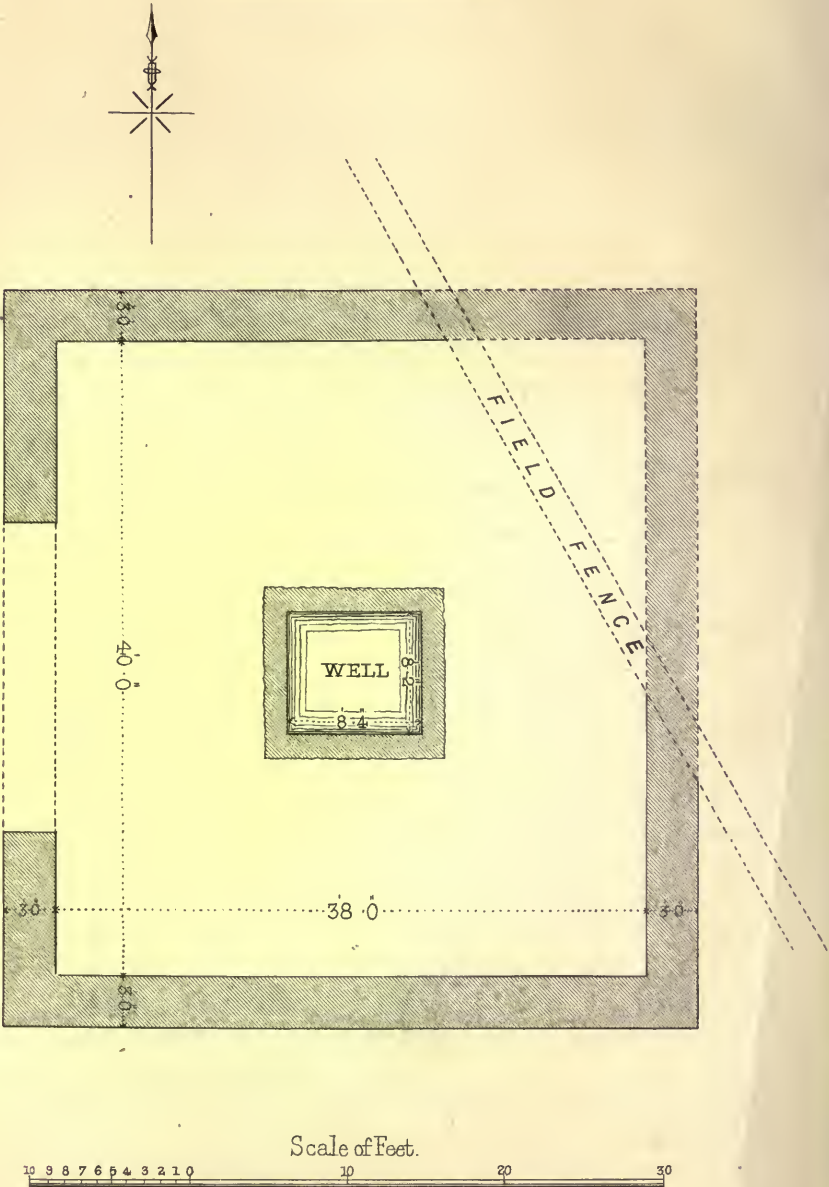
The object of that paper was to present to this Society an accurate statement of facts, and to invite the expression of the views and opinions of antiquarians and scholars on the subject.

The invitation so given has been largely accepted, and during the present summer the remains of the temple in which the well is placed have been exhumed, so that we now have before us the materials necessary for arriving at our own conclusions, which it is proposed that we should now endeavour to do, with due respect to the opinions of others, without assuming to ourselves infallibility.

The wetness of the spring and early summer has delayed till this month the completion of the excavation around the well; the result of that excavation is to confirm the conjecture that the well had stood within a temple. The outer walls of the temple have been found standing to some extent, which put us in possession of a perfect outline of the building. A ground plan is now laid before the Society.

The question which presents itself for our consideration, in the first instance, would seem to be: By whom was this temple of the goddess Coventina founded?

GROUND PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF CONVENTINA, AT PROCOLITIA



It certainly was not founded by the native Britons, for at the time of its foundation (which will be found to be tolerably certain), a few years only had elapsed since "Wild in woods the noble savage ran." The views and appetites of the Ancient Britons at that time would be altogether mundane, and they would be most unlikely to give any of their attention to an *invisible* goddess.

So euphonious a name as Coventina would scarcely occur to the gallant Dutchmen, of whom were composed the rank and file of the First Batavian cohort which formed the garrison of Procolitia, and moreover, being troubled at home with a superfluity of water, they would have no predilection for a water deity.

The founding of the temple of Coventina must be ascribed to the Roman officers of the Batavian cohort, who had left a country where "the sun shines every day," and where, in Pagan times, springs and running waters were objects of adoration.

So far there can be little difference of opinion. The next question which arises, viz., the derivation of the name of the goddess Coventina, admits of a variety of opinions.

The goddess was a local goddess, and her worship has been confined to the locality; no altar has been raised to her divinity elsewhere than at Procolitia; the root of the name might therefore be expected to be found in some local object, or event, and in the Celtic language.

Dr. Wake Smart, of Cranbourne, suggests a Celtic (or Keltic) derivation from "Gover," in the Celtic language "a rivulet or head of a rivulet;" he adds that the initial letters "G" and "C" are often interchangeably used, and that Roman ingenuity has supplied the rest of the name.

Our colleague, Dr. Hooppell (strong in Celtic lore), takes a different view of a Celtic derivation. "Cof," pronounced "Cov" in the Celtic language, means memory; and "Cofen," in that language pronounced "Coven," means a memorial. The temple might have been reared in memory of some event.

Our colleague, Mr. Carr-Ellison, in a very learned paper read at a meeting of our Society, held on the 6th February last, which will be recorded in our proceedings, and therefore need not be repeated, suggested a Greek derivation for the goddess.

Mr. Roach Smith, the distinguished antiquarian, contributes a

suggestion that the goddess derived her name from the Convenae, a people of Aquitania, in Gaul, inhabiting a country abounding in springs and in rivulets. The first cohort of Aquitani was part of the forces employed in building the Roman Wall, and has left in the station of Procolitia a record of its presence there.¹

From another source we receive a suggestion that the Roman officer who took the lead in the creation of the goddess and her temple, might possibly have named the goddess after some divine creature, the object of his adoration in Italy, who had declined to share his lot amongst the barbarians, "*divisos ab orbe Britannos*," but to whom he continued to be devoted.

None of these suggested derivations can be considered as conclusive, and the derivation of the name of the goddess may, without inconvenience, remain an open question; but from whatever source derived, the name of Coventina must be admitted to be a female name of harmonious sound. Mr. Frank Buckland recommends its adoption as the Christian name of infant beauties hereafter born on the banks of the Tyne.² The only objection to the name is its length, but as the Roman practice no longer exists which required the admirer of a lady to drink to her in a bumper for every letter in her name—

"Naevia sex cyathis, septem Justina bibatur."

the length of the name is less objectionable than it was in Roman times.

We have not yet heard of an instance of the adoption of the recommendation of Mr. Frank Buckland in the case of a young lady born on the banks of the Tyne, but we have heard of its adoption in christening a yacht.

The history of the temple of the goddess Coventina, from its opening to its close, is connected with the historical events of the period, in referring to which we may safely rely upon the authority of our great Roman historians, Gibbon and Merivale, who make no statement for which there are not sufficient grounds; with their aid, and with the information which we have obtained, and the light which is thrown on the subject by antiquarians and scholars, we will endeavour to trace that history.

¹ Vid. "Lapidarium Septentrionale," No. 158.

² See "Land and Water," No. 570, 23rd October, 1876.

The facilities for similar establishments afforded by the Polytheism of the Pagan religion, on which the French writer, Bossnet, tersely observes, "*Tout était Dieu excepté Dieu lui même*," have afforded us means of learning much by comparison.

At the meeting in December last, our friend and distinguished fellow-labourer in the field of antiquities, Canon Greenwell, called our attention to the discovery of the temple of the water goddess SEQUANA at one of the sources of the River Seine.

We have now before us an able and full report of the discovery and excavation of the remains of that temple, by Monsieur Henri Baudot, President of the Commission of Antiquities of the Department de la Cote d'Or.

We collect from this report that, during the period of the Roman occupation in Gaul, at one of the sources of the river Sequana (now the Seine), there was reared a temple to a water goddess, to whom the name of Sequana was given.

We have lately found that, during the period of Roman rule in Britain, at one of the sources of a rivulet flowing into the River South Tyne, was reared a temple to a water goddess, to whom the name of Coventina was given.

So far the cases of the two goddesses are alike. We must pursue their subsequent histories separately, and we shall find that they throw light on each other.

In the month of May, 1836, the excavation of the temple of the goddess Sequana was commenced. The outline of the edifice was distinctly traced, and within the exterior walls were found cells or small rooms, which the French antiquarian terms "*cellae ou petites chapelles*."

Altars and objects of sculpture were found scattered about the ruins of the building, and beneath the floor of one of the cells or little chapels was found a large earthenware vessel, bearing on its neck the inscription, "*Deae Sequanae Rufus donavit*." This vessel is of the shape and size of those vessels which were used amongst the Romans for containing oil or wine, and with its then contents had doubtless been at some period presented to the goddess by an individual bearing the name of Rufus. This vessel, when found in 1836, was empty, save in respect of a small earthenware vase; and scattered around it were 120 thin plates of bronze and silver, chiefly representing parts of the

human body, and that class of objects to which antiquarians apply the term "ex voto." In the small vase were found 836 coins, of which 285 were illegible, leaving 551 which were deciphered, of which more than one half were coins of Tetricus and his son,¹ and the rest extended over the period from Augustus down to Gratian, both inclusive, with the addition of a single coin of Magnus Maximus, the assassin of Gratian, and the usurper who took possession of and held Gaul, Spain, and Britain for about three years. These coins are supposed to represent the state of the treasury of the priests of the temple at the time of its destruction. The Pagan priests, who looked upon religion as a trade by which they must live, were always ready to promote the erection of temples to popular deities, and to attract offerings to them.

No coins or other objects were found in the sacred well or in the running waters inclosed within the walls of the temple.

The French antiquaries do not hesitate to impute to the Christians the destruction of the temple of the goddess Sequana, and they seem to have sufficient grounds for that conclusion. They find in the ruins of the temple unmistakeable marks of destruction by fire, and they find the altars and objects of sculpture purposely mutilated; and they give the date of the destruction as shortly before the close of the fourth century.

A reference to the events of history will assist us in forming a judgment of the correctness of the assumptions of the French antiquarians.

The Emperor Gratian was a sincere Christian, but being a man of inactive mind, and, devoting all his energies to hunting and shooting, he made no effort to advance the Christian, or repress the Pagan religion. In his lifetime he gave up the Eastern Empire to Theodosius, a zealous Christian, who deemed it to be his mission on earth to exterminate the Pagan superstition, which he did very effectually in the Eastern Empire. On the murder of Gratian, in the year 383, his assassin, Magnus Maximus, took possession of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, and held them for three years, when, ambitious of wider dominions, he invaded Italy with a view to dethrone Valentinianus, the youthful brother of Gratian, and his successor as Emperor of the West.

¹ The usurpation of Tetricus and his son continued from the year 268 to 273, when they surrendered themselves and their usurped dominions to Aurelius.—Vid. Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," Vol. II., cap. xi.

Valentinianus invoked the aid of Theodosius, who came to his aid with the legions of the East ; and after the destruction of Magnus Maximus and his army in the year 386, became, in fact, the master of the Western as well as the Eastern Empire. Theodosius lost no time in applying to the Western Empire the system which he had successfully pursued in the Empire of the East, and the historian Gibbon thus speaks of the result:—"The ruin of Paganism in the age of Theodosius is perhaps the only example of the total extinction of an ancient and popular superstition, and may, therefore, deserve to be considered as a singular event in the history of the human mind."¹

In Gaul, the edicts of Theodosius seem to have been promptly acted upon. It is recorded in history, that "The holy Martin, Bishop of Tours, marched at the head of his faithful monks to destroy the idols, temples, and the consecrated trees of his extensive diocese."

The same process was adopted by the Bishops of other dioceses, as well as by the holy Martin, and the temple of the goddess Sequana was demolished.

In the temple of Sequana nothing escaped destruction but the large earthenware vessel and its contents, including the vase containing the coins, which had been, doubtless, placed by the priests of the temple in a place of concealment when they heard of the fate of Magnus Maximus, and the termination of his Italian expedition, by means of the intervention of Theodosius.

We are indebted to more than one correspondent for reference to (and we were ourselves aware of it) a recent discovery in France, at the town of Bourbonne les Bains, in the department of the Haute Marne. We have before us a full account of the discovery, from the pen of Mons. L'Abbé Auguste Doby. The learned writer tells us that the name of the place was at one time Aquæ Borvonis, and afterwards successively Borvona, Borbona, Borbone, and at length Bourbonne.

It appears that at various times, in the town of Bourbonne les Bains, and in the vicinity of the baths, there have been found altars and votive tablets to a God called Borvonis, and a female Deity called Damona ; they are sometimes joined in the same dedication, and are sometimes the objects of separate dedications. The joint dedications

¹ See Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," Vol. V., cap. xxvii.

are expressed *DEO BORVONI et DAMONÆ*; in the separate dedication to Damona, she is styled *AUGUSTA*.

The waters being thermal, the two Celtic words *bor* hot, and *wona* a fountain, are suggested as forming the root of the names of the god and the town.

In the month of January, 1876, in the course of some structural alterations connected with the thermal waters, there were found in a part of the structure which had been used by the Romans, 4,512 Roman coins, of which 4,214 were of bronze, 294 were of silver, and four of gold. No catalogue of the coins is given, but we collect that they commence with Augustus, and end with Honorius, the son of Theodosius. At the bottom of this deserted space were found votive tablets to Borvonis and Damona. The Pagan establishment at Bourbonne les Bains, seems to have escaped destruction for a few years beyond that of the goddess Sequana, a circumstance which might be due to respect for the sanitary qualities of the waters, and the absence of any temple to excite the passions of the destroyers of Paganism.

We now turn to Italy for precedents.

A correspondent of the "Newcastle Chronicle," who takes for his signature the initial letters of the formal words of dedication, *V·S·L·M*, and whose suggestions are those of a scholar and a gentleman, calls our attention to the Ode of Horace addressed to the Fountain of Bandusia, one of those terse and sparkling odes of the great Roman lyric poet, which, from youth to age, remain impressed on the memory:—

O fons Bandusiæ, splendidior vitro,
Dulci digue mero, non sine floribus,
Cras donaberis haedo,
Cui frons turgida cornibus

Primis et Venerem et proelia destinat,
Frustra; nam gelidos inficiet tibi
Rubro sanguine, rivos
Lascivi suboles gregis.

—Ode 13th, 3rd Book of Horace's Odes.

In the first stanza the poet addresses the fountain as brighter than glass, and worthy of offerings of sweet wine and flowers.

The second stanza is happily rendered in English by an accom-

plished classical scholar, our noble President, the Earl of Ravensworth:—

“A wanton kid with crested head,
For love or war prepared in vain,
Shall, with his life-blood newly shed,
Thy pure and sparkling current stain.”

—*Fide* translation of the Odes of Horace by Lord Ravensworth.

The poet would seem to have contemplated the deposit in the stream of the blood only of the victim, which would soon be washed away, otherwise the fountain would soon have ceased to be brighter than glass. The priests or other curators of the fountain would doubtless utilize the flesh of the kid.

We are indebted to the same gentleman for a reference to the case of the river Clitumnus and its temple, and for an accurate translation of the descriptive passage in the Epistles of the younger Pliny, from which we learn that offerings of coins were seen glittering in the bed of the river Clitumnus, rendered distinctly visible by the purity and brightness of its waters, and this is the first example which has been brought to our notice of the deposit of money as an offering in the bed of the stream.

Virgil also speaks of the sacred waters of the Clitumnus, not as receiving the offering, but as used to sprinkle the victim for sacrifice.

“Hinc albi Clitumne greges, et maxima taurus
Victima, sæpe tuo perfusi flumine sacro,
Romanos ad templa Deum duxere triumphos.”

“Virgil Georg,” Lib II., 146.

Many a traveller is drawn to the Umbria of the ancients by the attractions of its capital Perugia, and few of them have not seen and admired the glassy purity of its river Clitumnus, which still deserves the epithets “*purus et vitreus*” applied to it by Pliny, and continues “a mirror and a bath for beauty’s youngest daughters,” as described by Byron.

Our attention has been also drawn to a discovery which was made in the year 1852, at the Acque Apollinari, a watering place about thirty miles distant from Rome.

We have now before us a clear and minute description of that discovery, and its attendant circumstances, written by an able but modest Italian, who gives us only his initials, which appears to have been printed at Rome at the Tipografia delle belle Arti, in 1852, under the

title of "La Stipe Tributata alle Divinità delle Acque Apollinari."
"The money paid in homage to the Divinities of the Acque Apollinari."

These waters are thermal waters, having medicinal properties, and are distant according to the Itinerary of Antoninus, thirty-four Roman miles from Rome, on the road to Cosa, in Etruria. They are still in repute for their medicinal virtues, and in the course of some alterations made in the modern building in the beginning of the year 1852, was discovered an abandoned receptacle of the thermal waters which was strewed with metallic objects, of copper or brass, apparently representing monies of very rude character. On the 22nd January, 1852, the Italian Savant from whom we quote, inspected them personally, and came to the conclusion that they were the tribute paid by the Pagans frequenting the baths to the Divinities, Guardians of the Fountain; and in support of that conclusion refers to the practice of the Roman citizens to pay tribute to the Lake Curzio for the safety of Octavius Cæsar, recorded by Suetonius, to the practice of the Egyptians (according to Seneca), to pay tribute to the Nile, and that of the Etruscans, to the Lake of Falterona, as well as of the Umbrians to the river Clitumnus, as described by Pliny. The Italian writer then proceeds to give us a general description of the "monies discovered," to the greater part of which he ascribes a prehistoric date, "*ad una Eta anteriore alla nostra istoria*," for the most part without inscription, and passing by weight; and he brings them down no lower than the fourth century after the foundation of the city of Rome. Whether the deposits were made before or after this abandoned reservoir ceased to be used for its original purposes cannot now be ascertained, but it seems improbable in this case, as well as in the case of Borvona, that waters, having medicinal properties, should have been polluted by enormous deposits of copper.

In this abandoned reservoir were also found a quantity of cups and other vessels of bronze, and some of silver; a correspondent of the newspapers describes them as vessels of gold and silver. Visions of Dr. Schliemann and Mycenæ have disturbed our notions of metals.

Having thus investigated the several cases which have occurred abroad which can be considered in any degree analogous to the present case, finally we must consider discoveries in Britain where the worship of water deities, and of springs and running waters seems to have been less popular than in warmer climates.

In the month of June, 1875, in a meadow near the village of

Horton, in the county of Dorset, on a gravel bed, over part of which flowed a streamlet, were found some perfect fictile vases, and a quantity of fragments of similar vases; and lying in the gravel amongst other objects 139 Roman coins, of which sixty-four were incapable of identification, and seventy-five were deciphered, the earliest being a coin of Augustus, and the latest a coin of Valens, A.D. 364, more than half of the whole number being of the Constantine family. The coins are described as first, second, and third brass and minimi, and as being generally in the worst possible condition, and many of them hopelessly illegible; we are indebted to the unerring eye and perfect knowledge of Mr. Roach Smith for the identification which has been effected.

Dr. Wake Smart suggests that "the objects so found are the remains of offerings to the Numen, Nymph, or Genius Loci, who was imagined to preside over the water of that spring."

But there are no remains of buildings indicating the existence in times past of any temple or other structure for the purposes of the worship of the divinity of the stream, or the receipt of offerings.

One of the correspondents of the newspapers refers to the excavation of the bridge of Cilurnum as productive of the discovery of a deposit of coins. This is altogether a mistake. The fact is that the eastern land abutment of the bridge of Cilurnum was discovered in 1860, and was excavated in that and the following year. No deposit of coins was discovered, but amongst the ruins of the fortifications and buildings connected with the bridge were picked up in different places some scattered coins not exceeding the average number produced by excavations on Roman ground. The excavation is recorded in the "*Archæologia Æliana*."¹

The last case in England to which our attention has been called is the discovery of Roman coins in October, 1873, on Lord Selborne's estate of Blackmoor Park, in Hampshire; a paper descriptive of which was read by his lordship in the Town Hall of Alton, in February, 1877. We have before us a copy of that paper from which we learn how ably an able man can deal with any subject, however new to him.

On the 30th October, 1873, were found at a depth of two feet below the present surface, on Lord Selborne's estate, two earthenware

¹ See Vol. VI., p. 80, New Series of "*Archæologia Æliana*."

vases or pots, containing 29,802 Roman coins, all of the lower empire. Of these coins 24,985 have been identified, extending over a period of about fifty years, viz., from Gordian III., A.D. 238, to Constans, A.D. 292. About 5,000 of the coins were laid aside as incapable of identification.

It is a singular feature in this hoard of coins, that of the 24,985 coins which have been identified no less than 14,254 are coins of Tetricus and his son.

It is not stated that these coins were near any spring or rivulet, or the remains of any temple or other building, and it seems probable that they constituted the hoard of some provident individual, who did not contemplate their passing into any other hands than his own.

Having thus before us all the information we can obtain, either at home or abroad, bearing on the subject, and likely to afford precedents for our guidance, we must now trace the history of the goddess Coventina and her temple, and its contents, and consider the peculiar circumstances of the present case, and how far the precedents referred to are applicable to it.

The date of the foundation of the temple may, with tolerable certainty, be assumed to be the reign of Antoninus Pius; that emperor, though he protected from persecution both the Christians and the Jews, was himself devotedly attached to the ancient religion established in his country, and was in fact a sincere and devout Pagan.¹ It is natural that the spirit of the emperor should be infused into his subjects, and that the military prefect in command of the garrison of Procolitia, should be aminded to erect a Pagan temple. In the selection of a divinity and a site for the temple, he probably had the assistance of the Pagan priests. The site fixed on was at that time a wooded glade, through which flowed a copious stream of pure water, and the divinity selected was a water deity. Thus rose from earth the temple of the goddess Coventina; it was built of stone, and by inside measurement, was 40 feet by 38 feet; the recent excavation has unearthed the lower courses of the outer walls of the temple, which are 3 feet in thickness. In the middle of the space inclosed by these walls was placed a well encased with substantial masonry. The dimensions of the well, since it

¹ See Merivale's "Romans under the Empire," Vol. VIII., cap. lxvii.

was first opened, are diminished to a trifling extent since the well was emptied, in consequence of the walls having bulged inwards. The inside of the well now measures 8 feet 4 inches by 7 feet 2 inches, its depth is at present 7 feet ; but it has originally been deeper, as a higher course of stones has evidently been removed, and the floor of the temple has evidently been higher than the present level of the ground. This must be ascribed to the wearing away of the soil by a constant stream of water flowing down the valley. The well, outside the masonry, is cased with clay of the thickness of about 2 feet, the effect of which would be to render it watertight. The depth of the well, as well as its structure, would seem 'unfavourable to the supposition that it was intended for or used as a bath. Inside the walls of the temple would be placed the votive tablet to the goddess, recording the name and rank of the dedicator, Titus Domitius Cosconianus. Around the temple and within its walls, no doubt, were ranged, as in the case of the goddess Sequana, the altars and vases inscribed to the goddess by individual worshippers; and the priests seem to have kept in store in the temple a collection of blank altars, some wholly and others partially finished, ready to receive the dedication of devotees. The temple having been thus established, together with its priests, seems to have prospered. Offerings came in, altars were inscribed and dedicated, and love-sick damsels cast into the well their spare trinkets in the hope of obtaining the countenance of the goddess in their views. To these interesting ladies we are doubtless indebted for the brooches, rings, and beads, found in the well. The waste of current money, if thrown to any extent into the water by way of offering, must have been most unsatisfactory to the Pagan priests, and is the most difficult feature with which we have to deal. Such a waste of current money did not take place in the case of the goddess Sequana, where the coins of three centuries, evidently the fruits of innumerable offerings, were found collected in a vase ; and it is impossible to say that such a waste did take place in the fountain of Bandusia, in the thermal waters of Borvona, or in the Acque Appollinari, but it did take place, to some extent, in rivers and lakes, in the Clitumnus, the Nile, and in the lakes Cirzio and Faltirona, which would be free from the inspection or control of the Pagan priests.

The opening of the temple of the goddess Coventina, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, would, no doubt, attract devotional offerings of money, which might possibly escape the grasp of the Pagan priests, and

be thrown into the well. To this circumstance may probably be ascribed the deposit in the well of some portion of coins found in it, and this notion is favoured by the circumstance of there being found amongst the coins taken out of the well, coins of the third consulate (A.D. 140), and of the fourth consulate (A.D. 145), of Antoninus Pius, which have never been in circulation. Some of these are shown in the Plate which is here introduced.

The temple and the worship of the goddess Coventina would seem to have been maintained for more than two centuries and a half. In the reign of Constantine the Great, the Pagan religion received its first heavy blow. But Constantine was no theologian, and introduced the Christian religion into the Roman army, solely from motives of policy, as he found his Christian more reliable than his Pagan soldiers.

The temple stood and the priests flourished during the reigns of the succeeding emperors, including that of Gratian, with whom the collection of coins found in the well terminates. There are found none of the coins of Magnus Maximus, issued during his usurpation for three years of Britain, Gaul, and Spain. In the year 386 the edicts of Theodosius for the extermination of the Pagan superstition, which had been enforced in the Eastern Empire were extended to the Western Empire. The temple of the goddess Sequana, in Gaul, was sacked and burnt, and the altars and objects of sculpture in it were broken and defaced. The priests of the goddess Coventina seem to have foreseen the approaching storm, and to have saved from plunder the contents of their treasury, and from desecration the votive tablet and altars and other objects then in the temple, including a dozen blank altars prepared for the purpose of receiving inscriptions, by depositing them for concealment in the well; there is not a fracture or a scratch on any of them, and amongst the altars so deposited were carefully placed two votive vases of fragile material and delicate workmanship, which are quite undamaged. The priests of the temple were probably glad to escape with their lives from the danger of the persecution of Theodosius. The fluid state of the interior of the well would naturally lead to mixture and confusion in the objects deposited.

In the absence of positive proof the date and circumstances of the fate of the Temple of Coventina can only be matter of conjecture. So far our conjecture has been founded on the precedent of the fate of the Temple of the goddess Sequana. The peculiar position of the Temple of



Coventina, under shelter of the fortress of Procolitia, on the line of defence against an aggressive foe, renders it not improbable that the deposition in the well as a place of safety may have been occasioned by a successful inroad of the Caledonians; or it may be supposed to be possible that in this remote part of the Roman Empire the worship of the goddess Coventina might possibly survive the edicts of Theodosius for a few years, and her temple might be preserved until the Romans abandoned Britain, and the brave Batavian cohort, after holding a post of danger in the face of the Caledonians for more than two centuries and a half, marched with the Sixth Legion¹ to confront on the soil of Italy the invading hordes of Attila.

In either of the latter cases the contents of the military chest might be added to the contents of the treasury of the temple, and swell the number of the coins.

The value of coins is due to the light they throw upon history, and it will be obvious that they have not been useless in the present investigation. In the paper read in December last it was stated that the series of coins taken from the well of Coventina commenced with Claudius and ended with Gratian, but that probably earlier and later coins might be found on further examination. No later coins than those of Gratian have been identified, but earlier coins have been found, viz., coins of Augustus, Agrippa, Tiberius, Drusus, and Germanicus, and three silver coins of a still earlier period, viz., three of the coins of Marcus Antonius the Triumvir, which were coined by Mark Antony in honour of the legions which adhered to his cause, very shortly before the fatal battle of Actium, from which, "yielding to the timid tear in Cleopatra's eye," Mark Antony (a brave man) fled before the fortunes of Octavius. The battle of Actium dates thirty years before the Christian era, and Gratian, with whose coins the collection ends, became emperor A.D. 367, and was assassinated A.D. 383, so that the coins in Coventina's well may be considered as extending over 400 years. Many of the emperors during that period will be found represented in the series. That re-

¹ The Sixth Legion, having its head-quarters at York, unquestionably remained in the North of England till the final departure of the Romans from Britain, and was the legion to which Claudian refers :—

" Venit et extremis Legio prætenta Britannis,
Quæ Scoto dat fræna truci, ferroque notatas
Perlegit exsanguis Picto moriente figuras."

presentation, however, would have been more complete, but for an untoward circumstance. For a whole Sunday during the time occupied in emptying the well, a party of thirty or forty men, chiefly miners from the lead districts, were in full possession of it, and carried away two or three thousands of the coins. In the peaceful and well ordered county of Northumberland, where all classes are united in respect for, and in support of, the laws of their country, such a raid could not have been anticipated, and the presence of a single policeman would have prevented it. The perpetrators, it is believed, were under the impression that "the coins belonged to the Ancient Romans," and that there could be no harm in taking them. On account of numismatists, this interruption to the series is much to be regretted, but we may console ourselves by the reflection, that the coins which remain are sufficient for the purposes of history, and that to the world at large it is a matter of indifference whether coins are rare or common, or even whether *Latin bronze* coins of Otho have been found elsewhere than at Birmingham, in which seat of manufacturing industry they have been occasionally produced.

Considerable progress has been made by Dr. Bruce, Canon Greenwell, and our colleague Mr. Blair (a skilled numismatist), in the identification of the coins, and an early visit to them of Mr. Roach Smith, the most accomplished numismatist of the age, is expected.¹

Amongst the numerous individuals who have given us the benefit of their views and opinions, one individual only has entered upon a criticism of the readings of the inscriptions presented to the Society in the paper of December last, and we gratefully receive criticism as a test of truth.

The readings in question, it will be remembered, were sanctioned by Professor Hübner, of the University of Berlin, one of the learned men selected for the compilation of that great German work, the "Latin Inscriptions of the World," and by our colleague, Dr. Bruce, of whose high qualification and eminent fitness to deal with the subject, the fruits of a whole life devoted to it, we are every one of us fully sensible.

The critic referred to is a gentleman of Liverpool, who addresses

¹ Mr. Roach Smith has since, with the assistance of Mr. Blair and Dr. Bruce, made a thorough examination of the coins, and the result of that eminent antiquarian and numismatist's examination is now appended to this paper.

a letter to the editor of the "Newcastle Daily Chronicle," which appears in the publication of that newspaper of the 27th December, 1876. The critic begins with the announcement of the grave fact, that "with the readings and expansions of the inscriptions he is by no means satisfied."

The gravity of the situation thus produced is, however, much mitigated by the statement which follows of the grounds of dissatisfaction, which we will proceed to examine.

The first in order of the objects of criticism are the inscriptions on the two unique fictile vases presented to the goddess as offerings by Saturninus Gabinius; these inscriptions have been incised by some sharp pointed instrument on the clay of which the vase is composed whilst still wet, and the letters of the inscriptions are divided amongst the panels of the vases.

We must not forget that in reading these inscriptions we are reading the manuscript of a potter and not of a scholar.

The critic deals first with the vase No. 1, and asks "what meaning does Mr. Clayton put upon VOTV MANIBVS SVIS?"¹ It is obvious that the potter has omitted the final letter of *Votum* for want of room on the panel of the vase on which the syllable is written, and it surely cannot be necessary to remind this gentleman that the Latin word *Votum* is used to express the object offered to the deity, as well as the vow to offer it, or to ask him to open his Virgil for an example.

"Lustramurque Jovi, votisque incendimus aras."

Vide "Virgil Æneid," Lib. III., 279.

With this knowledge no one can have any difficulty in reading, and understanding this inscription.

The critic takes exception to the form of some of the potter's letters, which we need not notice, and then gives us his own construction of the inscription as "*a dedication to the goddess by a vow to her shades!!!*" This is "what the critic makes" of VOTV MANIBVS SVIS.² There is not,

¹ The precise language of the critic, transcribed from his letter appearing in the "Newcastle Daily Chronicle" of the 27th December, 1876, is this, "*What meaning does Mr. Clayton put upon VOTV MANIBVS SVIS, especially when it follows a dedication to the goddess? 'To Coventina Augusta, by a vow to her shades,' is, to say the least of it, very singular. . . .*"

² If the critic had been a grammarian, he would have known that MANIBVS SVIS belonged not to the goddess, but to the dedicator the potter, and then it might have occurred to him that the potter would have more occasion for his hands than for his shades in manufacturing his pots.

and there cannot be the slightest difficulty or doubt as to any part of this inscription, as will be made apparent by a repetition of its letters and of the reading:—

COVENTINA AGVSTA VOTV

MANIBVS SVIS SATVRNINVS FECIT GABINIVS.

The reading—

COVENTINAE AVGVSTAE VOTVM MANIBVS SVIS SATVRNINVS FECIT
GABINIVS.

The translation is obvious to the meanest capacity—"Saturninus Gabinius with his own hands made [this] offering to Coventina Augusta."

This is "the meaning which Mr. Clayton puts on VOTV MANIBVS SVIS."

The peculiarity of the separation of the first from the second name of the dedicator by the interposition of the verb FECIT confounds the critic.

This peculiarity, however, may be easily and satisfactorily accounted for. From the skill displayed in the construction of the vase, the dedicator must have been a skilled artist, and must have acquired some celebrity in the exercise of his craft; he would probably be known in the Roman camp as "Saturninus Fictor," Saturninus the potter, and his second name would be little used and little known. The dedicator, writing on the soft clay, probably in the first instance concluded the sentence with "Saturninus fecit," but it then occurred to him that he was not sufficiently identified, and that his second name must be added. He was unwilling to attempt to erase what he had inscribed on the clay and felt that he answered his purpose by placing it after the verb.

The vase No. 2 next passes through the process of criticism. The critic says "Mr. Clayton does not give the inscription on this vase." What Mr. Clayton says of this inscription is that "it was a barbarous abbreviation of the inscription on vase No. 1." The critic persists in his objection to the form of the potter's letters, but he tells us that he collects from this inscription that Saturninus was the donor, and Gabinius the maker of the vase, which he says "accounts for the

position of the verb 'fecit' on the inscription on vase No. 1 between the two names of Saturninus and Gabinius" !!!¹

By means of a transcript of the letters taken from the vase itself and a proper reading and expansion of those letters we shall be able to ascertain whether this inscription was rightly treated by Mr. Clayton as an abbreviation of the inscription on vase No. 1, or whether the light thrown upon it by the critic is a true light.

The letters are somewhat barbarous in shape and much inferior in distinctness to those which we find in the inscription on vase No. 1; but, substantially, there is no doubt about their meaning and effect, nor can there be substantially any doubt about the reading and expansion.

The letters are—

V CV GST SATVRNI GABINIVS.

The reading—

VOTVM COVENTINAE AVGVSTAE SATVRNINVS GABINIVS.

Translation—

An offering to Coventina Augusta—Saturninus Gabinius.²

It is but an act of justice to the literary reputation of the potter to say that though he omits several letters in both inscriptions he introduces into neither of these a single wrong letter.

The critic next takes in hand the votive tablet.

The votive table is dedicated to the goddess Coventina by T. D. COSCONIANVS, the Prefect in command of the First Cohort of Batavians. As the inscription given supplies only the initial letters of the two first names of the Prefect they can only be expanded by reference to the names occurring elsewhere. We are indebted to the world-wide experience of Professor Hübner for the expansion of Titus Domitius. With this, however, our critical friend "is not by any means satisfied." In the first place, he insists upon the Prefect having four names instead of three, which addition he effects by converting a full stop, which follows the first initial letter "T" into one of the horizontal strokes of the

¹ If the critic had been a scholar, he would have known that the interposition of words between the two names of the same individual not unfrequently occurs in the classics, and an example will be found in the first Ode in the Fourth Book of the Odes of Horace. The poet interposes several words between the two names of his friend, Paulus Maximus, without disturbing the sense.

² There is some doubt whether what appears to be the letter "v" may not be what is called a leaf-stop. This is, however, quite immaterial, as, if VOTVM is not expressed, it must be understood.

letter "F," he thus interpolates FLAVIUS, he converts Professor Hübner's Domitius into Decimus,¹ and, in happy self-confidence, gives us as the Prefect's names, "TITVS FLAVIVS DECIMVS COSCONIANVS."

The inscription on altar No. 1 is allowed to pass without comment. The altar No 2, which is dedicated by a German recruit, is not so fortunate as to escape criticism; but the only question seems to be whether the name of the dedicator, which on the stone is MA DVHVS, is to be read MANLIVS DVHVS, as expanded by Professor Hübner, or MADVNVS, as expanded by the Liverpool critic. If the recruit had been from Lancashire or Cheshire, the Liverpool authority would have been properly resorted to; but as the recruit was from Germany, a reference to an authority at Berlin would seem on this occasion to be more to the purpose; and whether the recruit used either one or the other name seems to be an immaterial fact.

No objection is offered to the readings of the inscriptions on the remaining altars, save to that on altar No. 8, which was offered with diffidence in consequence of the unskilfulness of the sculptor.

Whatever doubt may exist as to the right reading of this inscription, it is quite clear that the reading of the critic is wrong. His amendment consists in reading the first letter of what appears to be a proper name as the first letter of the initials V S L M, with which the dedication of altars almost uniformly concludes, overlooking the circumstance that the letter "v" occurs in a subsequent part of the inscription which is properly its place.

Having thus gone through the several objections taken to the readings of the several inscriptions sanctioned by Professor Hübner and Dr. Bruce, and placed before the Society on the 2nd of December last, we arrive at the conclusion that none of these objections are tenable.

The owner of the well of Coventina and its contents presents to the Society engravings of the principal objects described, from which the accuracy of the description may be tested, and also of some minor objects found in the well (already referred to, page 4), particularly a miniature bust in bronze of the goddess, which does justice to her features, which are somewhat flattened in the stone representation of them on the Votive Tablet. This bust is accompanied by two other

¹ The critic, if he be at all versed in Roman nomenclature, must know that Decimus like Titus is a prænomen, and therefore, here entirely out of place.

bronze busts found with it, busts personifying mirth and melancholy, L'Allegro, and Il Penseroso, the broad grin on the face of the one, and the length of visage of the other, are highly comic.

At our meeting of the 2nd December last the attention of the Society was drawn to an altar to Minerva, which had been found at Procolitia since the publication of the "*Lapidarium Septentrionale*;" this altar is dedicated by the prefect of a cohort, indicated by the letters COH. CI. The same critic in his letter to the press of the 20th of December last refers to a suggestion which he had made sometime previously to the effect that the letters "C I" must be expanded either "Celtiberorum" or "Cugernorum." However valuable may be this suggestion, we must be excused if we hesitate to accept it as conclusive. The First Cohort of the Celtiberi was in Britain in the reign of Trajan, A.D. 106, as is evidenced by the diploma of that emperor, of that date (vide "*Lapidarium Septentrionale*, page 5"), but it has left no other record of its presence in Britain, and at the date of the "*Notitia Imperii*" this cohort was in Italy stationed in the province of Venetia inferior.

The First Cohort of the Cugerni, who are sometimes called Cuberni, is named in the diploma of Trajan, and is also named in the diploma of Hadrian, A.D. 124 (vide "*Lapidarium Septentrionale*," p. 7), as one of the cohorts of the army serving in Britain under Aulus Platorius Nepos, and doubtless employed in building the Roman Wall. On an altar found in the well, the First Cohort of the Cugerni have inscribed on the face of the altar their national name at full length. In cases where the nationality of a cohort or an ala is expressed by a contraction it almost uniformly consists of three letters, as BAT. for Batavi and AST. for Astures; and it seems probable that if either of these two cohorts had been the cohort dedicating this altar, and had adopted the unusual course of expressing its nationality by two letters, those letters would have been either C E. or C U. and not C I. as on the stone.

Antiquarians in general are of opinion that two letters do not afford sufficient grounds for any conclusion, and we must hope that a stone may be found on which the cohort may give us more letters of its name.

OBSERVATIONS OF DR. BRUCE IN PRESENTING THE SUBSEQUENT PAPER TO THE SOCIETY.

I HAVE to submit to the Society a paper prepared by Mr. C. Roach Smith upon the coins found in Coventina's Fountain at Procolitia. Those who looked upon the enormous mass of coin (for the most part in a highly corroded condition) when it was first brought to Mr. Clayton's residence, at Chesters, were disposed to despair of ever being able to give an intelligent account of it. By persevering diligence and hard work, the task has at last been accomplished. Canon Greenwell, Mr. Blair, of South Shields, and myself did a good deal (Mr. Blair especially) to reduce the heap to order and to arrange the several coins under the heads of the different emperors. Mr. C. Roach Smith, whose skill as a numismatist and extensive archæological knowledge, especially in the Roman field, are well known, then examined the whole, and has embodied his views in a paper which will be printed in the "*Archæologia Æliana*." This paper I now submit to the meeting.

The first part of it contains a tabular view of the coins, showing the number of gold, silver, and first, second, and third brass pieces belonging to each emperor. As this is scarcely adapted for reading aloud, I will here give a brief summary of it.

The number of coins resulting from this "find" in Mr. Clayton's possession is 13,487; of these about two thousand are unrecognisable in consequence of wear and corrosion. In addition to these, at least three thousand came into the hands of other parties. The whole amount of treasure in the well must have been at least fifteen or sixteen thousand.

Four gold coins are amongst the number—one of Nero, one of Sabina, the wife of Hadrian, one of Antoninus Pius, and one of Julia Domna, the wife of Severus.

One hundred and eighty-four denarii (silver coins) have come into Mr. Clayton's possession. The rest are bronze and copper coins. The series begins with three silver coins of the time of Marc Antony, about 30 years before Christ, and it ends with Gratian, who was killed

A.D. 383. The number of emperors and imperial personages represented is not less than 90.

Of the early emperors, Augustus and Tiberius are scantily represented. There are 20 coins of Claudius, and more than 50 of Nero. There are six of Galba and one of Otho. Of the coins of Vespasian and Titus there are 550. Domitian has 485 and Nerva 82. After this the coins become still more numerous. Of Trajan there are 1,772, of Hadrian and his wife Sabina 2,431, of Antoninus Pius and his wife Faustina 2,829, of Marcus Aurelius and his wife Faustina, the younger, there are 1,355. After this the coins decrease in number, Lucius Verus and his wife Lucilla have 170, Commodus and his wife 246. Up to this point the bronze coinage greatly preponderates, the silver coins being very few in number comparatively. About the time of Severus the silver preponderates. Of Septimius Severus and his wife, Julia Domna, there are only 64 pieces, but of these 36 are silver. Caracalla has 10 denarii, but only three of bronze. Of the later emperors, Constantine the Great is most largely represented, there being 200 of his coins. The Constantine family are also largely represented.

Another important section of Mr. C. Roach Smith's paper consists of his remarks upon the rarer reverses found amongst the large mass of coins. He did not meet with any that are absolutely new to numismatists, but with several that are rare, and many that are highly interesting. Amongst the rare coins may be mentioned a first brass of Didius Julianus, a denarius of Didia Clara, a second brass of Julia, the daughter of Titus, a denarius of Clodius Albinus, and a coin of Julia Aquilia. There is also a specimen of the *Disciplina* type of Hadrian, which is rare, and one of the consecration type of Antoninus Pius. In the list the reader will find others which need not be enumerated here.

Amongst the coins of great interest, though not ranking amongst those of great rarity, are specimens of a second brass *Britannia* of Hadrian, of a large brass *Britannia* of Antoninus Pius, and a large brass *Britannia* of Commodus. But the most remarkable fact respecting this class of coins is that in Mr. Clayton's possession there are not less than 327 of the second brass coin struck in the reign of Antoninus Pius to commemorate the complete subjugation of Britain and

the building of the Scottish Wall. It was too bad to inundate the country with coin reminding the poor Britons of their humiliation and defeat. We have also in the "find" specimens of the *Judæa Capta* of Vespasian and Titus, the *Fisci Judaici* type of Nerva, several of the *Adventus* coins of Hadrian such as *Achaia*, *Africa*, *Bithynia*, *Hispania*; and the Christian monogram on the coins of Magnentius. There are many coins of the British Emperors Carausius and Allectus, but none of the rare type.

POSTSCRIPT BY MR. CLAYTON.

THE coins taken out of the well and preserved at The Chesters exceed in weight twenty-seven stones.

A passage in the "History of Northumberland," published by the Rev. John Wallis, A.D. 1769 (Vol. I., p. 23), describes the appearance of the well at that date. It is as follows:—"Many springs and rivers were consecrated by the Romans for their religious rites, etc.; of this kind probably is the well at the station of Carrawbrough. It is between two sloping fields on the west side of the station, just under it, to the south of their famous Wall, about 400 or 500 yards from the 25th milestone on the military road, square, and faced with freestone of hewn work, and has either had a dome over it or been walled round; the stones are lying about it and nearly covered with water from the conduits being stopped, and demolished by the carelessness or ignorance of a ploughman, as I am informed. It is full up to the brim and overflowing in the hottest summer; and, by that man's indiscretion, he that would satisfy his curiosity to see it must run the risk of wetting his feet, especially in winter or in a rainy season."

Hutton, the veteran pedestrian of Birmingham, mentions this well, but by hearsay only; it is palpable that he never saw the well or the station of Procolitia, mistaking a meadow field of seven acres surrounding the farmhouse at Carrawburgh for the station of Procolitia, which is nearly half-a-mile distant, and contains an area of three acres and a-half. (Hutton's "Roman Wall," published in 1802, p. 216.)

NUMERICAL VIEW OF THE COINS.

READ 4TH FEBRUARY, 1878.

| EMPEROR. | GOLD. | SILVER. | 1ST BRASS. | 2ND BRASS. | TOTAL. |
|---------------------|-------|---------|------------|------------|------------------|
| MARC ANTONY ... | ... | 3 | ... | ... | 3 |
| AUGUSTUS ... | ... | ... | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| M. AGRIPPA ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 1 |
| TIBERIUS ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 1 |
| DRUSUS ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 1 |
| GERMANICUS ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 2 |
| CLAUDIUS ... | ... | ... | 2 | 18 | 20 |
| NERO ... | 1 | 1 | ... | 50 | 52 |
| GALBA ... | ... | ... | 6 | ... | 6 |
| OTHO ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | 1 |
| VESPASIAN ... | ... | 6 | 65 | 476 | 550 ¹ |
| TITUS ... | ... | 3 | | | |
| JULIA TITI ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 1 |
| DOMITIAN ... | ... | 8 | 139 | 338 | 485 |
| NERVA ... | ... | 1 | 43 | 38 | 82 |
| TRAJAN ... | ... | 13 | 980 | 779 | 1,772 |
| HADRIAN ... | ... | 8 | 1,404 | 918 | 2,330 |
| SABINA ... | 1 | 1 | 58 | 41 | 101 |
| L. AELIUS ... | ... | ... | 16 | 14 | 30 |
| ANTONINUS PIUS ... | 1 | 12 | 910 | 891 | 2,141 |
| Do. Britannia type | ... | ... | ... | 327 | |
| FAUSTINA I. ... | ... | 6 | 275 | 407 | 688 |
| M. AURELIUS ... | ... | 8 | 345 | 314 | 667 |
| FAUSTINA II. ... | ... | 12 | 259 | 395 | 666 |
| L. VERUS ... | ... | 1 | 56 | 24 | 81 |
| LUCILLA ... | ... | 2 | 74 | 13 | 89 |
| COMMODUS ... | ... | 5 | 189 | 13 | 207 |
| CRISPINA ... | ... | 1 | 36 | 2 | 39 |
| DIDIUS JULIANUS ... | .. | ... | 1 | ... | 1 |
| DIDIA CLARA ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | 1 |
| CLODIUS ALBINUS ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | 2 |
| SEPT. SEVERUS ... | ... | 22 | 20 | ... | 42 |
| JULIA DOMNA ... | 1 | 17 | 4 | ... | 22 |
| Carried forward ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 10,087 |

¹ Owing to the corroded state of most of the pieces, and the resemblance between the coins of Vespasian and Titus, it has not been found practicable to give them separately.

NUMERICAL VIEW OF THE COINS.—CONTINUED.

| EMPEROR. | SILVER. | 1ST BRASS. | 2ND BRASS. | 3RD BRASS. | TOTAL |
|----------------------|---------|------------|------------|------------|--------|
| Brought forward... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 10,087 |
| CARACALLA ... | 10 | 3 | ... | ... | 13 |
| PLAUTILLA ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | 2 |
| GETA ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| ELAGABALUS ... | 3 | ... | ... | ... | 3 |
| JULIA PAULA... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| AQUILIA SEVERA ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| JULIA SOAEMIAS ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| JULIA MAESA ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | 2 |
| SEV. ALEXANDER ... | 4 | 4 | ... | 2 | 10 |
| JULIA MAMAEA ... | 6 | 1 | 1 | ... | 8 |
| MAXIMINUS I. ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | 1 |
| MAXIMUS ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | 1 |
| GORDIANUS PIUS ... | 2 | 1 | 1 | ... | 4 |
| PHILIPPUS I. ... | 2 | 2 | ... | ... | 4 |
| PHILIPPUS II. ... | 1 | ... | 1 | ... | 2 |
| ETRUSCILLA ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| TREBONIANUS GALLUS | 1 | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| VALERIAN ... | 2 | ... | ... | 1 | 3 |
| GALLIENUS ... | 3 | ... | ... | 80 | 83 |
| SALONINA ... | 2 | ... | ... | 2 | 4 |
| CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS... | ... | ... | ... | 72 | 72 |
| QUINTILLUS ... | ... | ... | ... | 8 | 8 |
| AURELIAN ... | ... | ... | ... | 10 | 10 |
| POSTUMUS ... | 5 | 1 | ... | 29 | 35 |
| VICTORINUS ... | ... | ... | ... | 71 | 71 |
| MARIUS ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 1 |
| The TETRICI ... | ... | ... | ... | 81 | 81 |
| TACITUS ... | ... | ... | ... | 15 | 15 |
| PROBUS ... | ... | ... | ... | 19 | 19 |
| CARINUS ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 1 |
| DIOCLETIAN ... | ... | ... | 18 | ... | 18 |
| MAXIMIAN ... | ... | ... | 39 | 7 | 46 |
| CARAUSIUS ... | ... | ... | ... | 25 | 25 |
| ALLECTUS ... | ... | ... | ... | 16 | 16 |
| CONSTANTIUS ... | ... | ... | 18 | 12 | 27 |
| HELENA .. | ... | ... | ... | 11 | 11 |
| THEODORA ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 1 |
| SEVERUS II. ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | 2 |
| MAXIMINUS II. ... | ... | ... | 2 | 7 | 9 |
| MAXENTIUS ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | 2 |
| Carried forward ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 10,703 |

NUMERICAL VIEW OF THE COINS.—CONTINUED.

| EMPEROR. | SILVER. | 1ST BRASS. | 2ND BRASS. | 3RD BRASS. | TOTAL. |
|---|---------|------------|------------|------------|--------|
| Brought forward ... | ... | .. | ... | ... | 10,703 |
| LICINIUS ... | ... | ... | 1 | 14 | 15 |
| CONSTANTINE ... | ... | ... | 3 | 197 | 200 |
| FAUSTA ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | 3 |
| CRISPUS ... | ... | ... | ... | 21 | 21 |
| CONSTANTINE II. ... | ... | ... | ... | 66 | 66 |
| CONSTANS ... | ... | ... | ... | 25 | 25 |
| MAGNENTIUS ... | ... | ... | ... | 30 | 30 |
| DECENTIUS ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | 3 |
| CONSTANTIUS II. ... | ... | ... | ... | 12 | 12 |
| CONSTANTINE FAMILY ¹ ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 230 |
| URBS ROMA ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 67 |
| CONSTANTINOPOLIS ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 62 |
| VALENTINIAN ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 1 |
| VALENS ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6 |
| GRATIAN ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 15 |
| Small Brass, illegible ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 27 |
| Illegible—chiefly 1st and 2nd Brass, about | } | ... | ... | ... | 2,000 |
| GREEK of NEAPOLIS, much worn | | | | | |
| Total ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 13,487 |

The prevailing state of this large accumulation of coins is decisive evidence of long circulation as a medium of traffic. By far the larger number is identified from the outlines only of portraits and reverses; and more than two thousand have been laid on one side as not to be identified, so detrited are they from the wear and tear of commerce. The latest in point of date are not exempt from this peculiar general condition. This fact must weigh materially in forming a verdict on the cause of the deposit of the coins; on the time when they were deposited; and also in considering whether they were thrown into the fountain from time to time as votive offerings; or whether they were hastily buried in mass for concealment. To the former supposition the unusually large number is not favourable. On the contrary, so lavish an investment for the favours of a local divinity who, as other

¹ In consequence of the corroded state of most of these coins it has been found impracticable to assign many to the proper individuals.

altars testify, did not monopolise the worship of the garrisons of Procolitia, is beyond all reasonable belief in the extent of the wealth or the piety of the neighbourhood. That coins were offered at shrines is well known ; and those discovered at the sources of the Seine, given to the *Dea Sequana*, are an interesting example. But they do not support a votive offering theory applied to the coins in the fountain of the *Dea Coventina*.

The money offerings to *Sequana* had been carefully placed in a small earthen vessel, inclosed in a large urn, upon the neck of which was an inscription testifying that it had been the gift of one Rufus. These coins, 836 in number, range from Augustus to Magnus Maximus ; and they were mostly in a perfect state of preservation, indicating that they had been deposited at different epochs and by different individuals, who appear to have selected the freshest and least worn coins. It is probable they had been preserved in the temple until the period when danger was at hand ; and that then one of the priests placed them in the vase, which he buried. It will be seen that the circumstances under which the two deposits are presented to our criticism are widely different. Deposited in the large urn, and surrounding the small one, were 120 *ex votos* cut from thin plates of bronze and silver ; and scattered amongst the ruins of the temple were a great number of objects of marble, stone, bronze, and terra cotta, the offerings, doubtless, of persons who had benefitted by a resort to the shrine of the nymph, and which had originally been hung up in her temple.¹

Whatever may have been the exact positions of the coins in the fountain, they do not indicate a careful and gradual deposit ; but on the contrary, a sudden and hurried concealment. The altars especially confirm this conclusion. They were intended for the eye, not for burial ; but, as at Axelodunum, the altars when some great disaster was imminent, were carefully buried ; so at Procolitia, those in or around the temple of Coventina, were taken to what was properly considered a place of safety ; but while their guardians found for them a secure sanctuary, they never returned to reclaim their treasure or to record their last vows.

The time when the coins were entrusted to the fountain could not have been before the latter part of the reign of Gratian ; and it may

¹ Rapport sur les Découvertes Archéologiques faites aux Sources de la Seine, par M. Henri Bandot. Dijon and Paris, 4to. 1845.

have been somewhat, but probably not much, later. The rebellion of Magnus Maximus and the withdrawal of many of the garrisons from Britain may be suggested. The *castra* on the line of the Wall must, at this period, have been left in an almost defenceless state; and although Britain and Gaul, by the defeat of Maximus, were recovered to the Empire, the military hold of the long line of fortresses of the Wall, must have been relaxed; and probably never after effectually resisted the attacks of the Picts and Scots.

Accepting this theory, that some panic was the cause of the concealment of the coins in mass, we may look upon the treasure as a fair representation of the money circulating at Procolitia at the close of the reign of Gratian. It is very obvious that in the times of Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines, an enormous amount of the larger copper coinage was sent into Britain, as well as into the other provinces; for it is everywhere found in abundance, and prevailing over similar coinages in subsequent reigns. In the reign of Severus, silver predominated; and the imperial mint not only issued good silver, but also vast quantities of debased metal. In earlier times plated denarii were sent to the provinces; but from Nero to Severus the practice seems to have been abolished. In the reign of Gordian the Third, and subsequently, a larger kind of silver coinage was struck. This also is of inferior metal, degenerating into billon, or a metal merely washed with silver. In the time of Constantine small copper coins of all sizes were issued by the imperial mints in the provinces; and these coins formed much of the currency to the fall of the western empire. The earlier coinages circulated simultaneously; and must have been used commercially for centuries, accepted probably by weight only. In the fall of the Roman Empire the coinage bears a corresponding decline until it at last becomes extinguished in what are called, and not improperly, the dark ages.

REVERSES.

The rarer reverses only are given; and most of these are so detrited from circulation as only to be recognized from familiarity with the types.

CLAUDIUS.—Ob Cives Servatos, S.C.

VESPASIAN AND TITUS.—Judæa Capta.—Titles: an elephant.

- DOMITIAN.—Victory crowning the Emperor.
- NERVA.—A palm tree ; the “*Fisci Judaici*” type.—Two mules unyoked ; “*Vehiculatione Italiae Remissa*.”
- TRAJAN.—Via Trajana.—Trophies.—A recumbent female (*Tellus*) extending her hand to a large globe at her feet.—Emperor on horseback.—Victory crowning the Emperor.—Arabia Adquisita.—Dacia Capta.—A temple.—A bridge.—The Emperor standing upon a pediment ; on either side two small eagles.
- HADRIAN.—Britannia (in middle brass).—Adventus Aug.—Adventui Aug. Bithyniæ.—Adventui Aug. Italiae.—Others of the Adventus type.—Adlocutio.—Discipulina.—Varieties of the Galley type.—Temple of twelve columns.—Restitutori types.—Emperor on horseback.—Neptune.—Dacia.—A river god.—Hispania.
- LUCIUS AELIUS.—Pannonia. A personification of the Province, standing.
- ANTONINUS PIUS.—Britannia.—Rex Armenis Datus.—Rex Parthis Datus.—Victory upon a globe (“*Britannia*” type).—Opi Aug.—Recumbent river god.—Aurelius Cæsar.—Munificentia Aug.—Wolf and Twins.—Adventus.—Temple.—Bono Eventui.—Genio Senatus.—Emperor in Quadriga.—Junoni Sispitæ.—Liberalitas Aug.—Concordiæ ; four figures.—Primi Decennales.—Divo Pio, Consecratio.—Æd. Divi Aug. Rest. ; a temple.
- FAUSTINA THE ELDER.—Veneri Augustæ —Cybele.—Consecratio.
- MARCUS AURELIUS.—Primi Decennales.—Juventas.—Consecratio.
- FAUSTINA THE YOUNGER.—Temporum Felicit. ; a woman with six infants.—Fecunditas ; with four infants.—Saeculi Felicitas ; two children in a light ornamented bed.—Moon and seven stars.—Sideribus Recepta.—Consecratio.
- LUCIUS VERUS.—Liberalitas Augg.—Concordia Augg.—Consecratio.
- COMMODUS.—Vict. Brit.—Serapidi Conservat. Aug.—Hercules by a Trophy.—Lib. Aug. IIII. The Emperor on an estrade and four figures.
- CLODIUS ALBINUS.—Cos. II. Æsculapius.
- SEVERUS.—Victoriæ Parthicæ.—Cereris Frug.
- JULIA DOMNA.—The Empress before four standards, as Mater Castorum.
- CARACALLA.—Vota Suscepta X.—..... a galley.—Vota Publica.—Profectio Aug.

ELAGABULUS.—Sacerd. Dei Solis Elagab.

AQUILIA SEVERA.—Concordia.

JULIA MAMAEA.—Pietas Augusta.—Juno Conservatrix.

PHILIPPUS.—Æternitas ; an elephant.

POSTUMUS.—Restit. Galliarum.—Serapidi Comiti Aug.

Of the remainder it may be sufficient to remark that the coins of Carausius and Allectus, all of common types, have for mint marks M.L. and C. (believed to be struck at Londinium and Camulodunum); and that the mint mark P.LOX. occurs in coins of Crispus and the younger Constantine, the chief places of mintage being represented by the letters PTR., Treves ; PLC., Lyons ; and CONST., Arles.

C. ROACH SMITH.

ON THE PROBABLE SIGNIFICATIONS OF THE NAMES OF
THE ROMAN STATIONS, "PER LINEAM VALLI," AND
ON THE PROBABLE POSITIONS OF THOSE HITHERTO
UNIDENTIFIED.

READ FEBRUARY 5TH, 1877, BY THE REV. R. E. HOOPPELL, M.A.,
LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.A.S.

SOME time ago, my mind was forcibly drawn to the investigation of the meanings of the names of the Roman stations in the North of England. No one can read the list of the stations *per lineam valli* without feeling certain that those singularly-sounding appellations conveyed at one time to the minds of numbers the most vivid pictures, that they were expressive of ideas or features, as distinctly marked as their own unmistakeable individuality.

Now, although they have Roman terminations, it is evident that the great majority of them are not Latin. One of course is, Pons Ælii, the name of the famous old station within the borders of which we are now assembled, but I doubt whether any of the others, even Magna, or Æsica, or Petriana, are. Nations in a high state of civilisation seem incapable of originating names. The names given to our children in baptism, the new surnames, which are not new, occasionally assumed, the names of our new streets and new parishes, indicate this truth. English settlers, when they go to distant lands, for a time almost invariably do nothing else than reproduce the names familiar to them in the old country; afterwards, when driven from these, and when better acquainted with the names of the places around them in use among the aborigines they are dispossessing, they adopt the names the natives have given to localities, without, probably, in many cases, knowing or caring for the significations they may bear.

This, I believe, was the process the nomenclature of the localities from the Tyne to the Solway underwent the better part of 2,000 years ago. I believe we must look for the significations of the names of the stations *per lineam valli* in the language of the people who roamed over the hills, or dwelt by the streams and springs, before the southern warriors set foot upon their heights and moorlands.

With this conviction I examined some of the names some time ago, in connection with that language fortunately preserved to us still—and long may it survive in its full life and vigour—which, with very little, if any, difference from what it is at present, was spoken from the centre of Scotland to Kent and Cornwall—the Welsh, and much was I both surprised and gratified at the results obtained. It is these results, with others arrived at more recently, I wish to bring before this learned Society to-day.

At the outset, however, I must disclaim any pretensions to any profound Keltic scholarship. My knowledge of the ancient British language is little more than that which any person of an enquiring turn of mind would acquire by being thrown amongst Welsh people in early life, and by living several years in the midst of a Welsh-speaking community. It is possible I may have fallen into some errors which those of riper Keltic scholarship may be able to point out. I have a strong persuasion, however, that I have also struck upon many truths.

One of the first names which struck me very forcibly was that of the station so admirably preserved in the grounds of our indefatigable, and most valued, and successful colleague, Mr. Clayton, viz., Cilurnum—Kilnrnum, as doubtless the Romans called it. Cyl hyrn is the Welsh at this day for “narrow haugh,” the most expressive designation of the site of the station that could be given. “Haugh” is, as all present doubtless are well aware, an early name for a green mead by a river’s side. The same decided feature found expression again when the successors of the Romans and Britons seized the country, and “Humshaugh” and “Haughton Castle” embody to this day the very signification of the word so frequent for centuries on Roman tongues.

Aballaba is another striking instance. I regret to be obliged to acknowledge that I have not visited all the stations, though I have very many. I do not know, therefore, by actual inspection the topographical character of every one, but I shall be surprised if I find at some future

time that the site of Aballaba, or of one of the stations which dispute for the appellation, does not correspond with the name. The signification of the name is obvious, Y bala bach, "the little hill."

Then, again, the origin of Condercum is not very doubtful. Con derch "the elevated peak," or Com derch "the elevated round." If objection be taken to the former, the latter remains, but I may remark that the exploration of the station at the Lawe, South Shields, has shown that the lapse of ages tends to flatten very sensibly hills originally conical or peaked.

Congavata affords another instance of the word Com in composition, as also does Borcovicus. Congavata appears to be evidently Con cafad (or Comp gafad) "hollow round," a description, which (if my conjecture as to its locality be correct, viz., Burgh on the Sands) was probably appropriate in British times. Borcovicus may be translated from the Latin as "Borcom, or Barcom, Town;" Bar com meaning "round top." Bor com "centre of round," either explanation describing accurately, if my memory serves me faithfully, the character of the well-known eminence.

Amboglanna, Latin as the first half of it looks, is yet evidently British; Am bo glannau meaning "enclosing banks," a description, I believe, peculiarly appropriate to the station which is now, without doubt, Birdoswald.

Gabrosentum, wherever it was situated, is, I think, as plain in its derivation. I take it to be "Goat Fell" or "Goat Marsh," which in British is Gafr rhos. The term points to a time when wild goats were common in the locality.

My reading of Procolitia points also to the abundance of another *fera naturæ*—the badger. I have seen somewhere that Procolitia means "the fortress in the wood." I confess I cannot discover how that signification has been derived. To me it appears to be "Badgers' Lure," Brochau Llith. (It must be remembered that p and b are interchangeable letters, as are also v—in British f—and m, t and d, and several others.) The "lure" was the spring, to which our attention has been so forcibly and agreeably drawn so recently, and over which the goddess Coventina appears to have presided. The name of the goddess appears to have been formed from Cof, "memory," or its derivative Cofen, "a memorial," and reminds one of the goddess worshipped by the

Greeks under the name of Mnemosyne, from *μνημη* "memory," or *μνημειον* "a memorial."

It will be observed that in all the instances I have given, the names (if formed in the way I suggest) have been formed from natural features. This adds greatly to the probability that the derivations given are correct. Savages, and uncivilised, or partly civilised, nations, invariably derive the names they confer from the most striking characteristics of the scenery or circumstances of the spots they visit. A study of the meaning of the aboriginal names of places in America, Australia, New Zealand, and elsewhere, will, I believe, fully confirm this statement. I will not trouble you with the derivations I think may be assigned to the names of the rest of the identified stations *per lineam valli*, lest I make this communication too long, but will proceed now to discuss briefly the probable position of those hitherto unidentified, and the light that the probable signification of their names may throw upon the question of their locality.

And, first, I may say that I can by no means agree with those who think we may look for the stations "*per lineam valli*," *procul a vallo*, "at a distance from the Wall." I think there can be no doubt they must be sought in close proximity to the Wall, either very near, on either side, or else at the eastern extremity, as a chain of fortresses, forming, what mathematicians would call, a discontinuous portion of the great barrier itself.

If the latter be the truth, as I believe it to be, the reason they are placed last may be because, either they were looked upon as somewhat subordinate stations to the great chain from Wallsend to Bowness, or because they were built and garrisoned subsequently to the completion of the continuous line.

I place Gabrosentum at Bowness, and in connection with this, and the signification I believe to be the correct one of the word, it would be interesting to know whether any notice exists in any record of the existence of wild goats in that locality, in ancient or more recent times, or whether any bones of such animals have ever been found imbedded in the soil, or in connection with Roman relics.

The last identified station, travelling westward, is Amboglanna, now Birdoswald. Between Amboglanna and Gabrosentum are four in the *Notitia* list, Petriana, Aballaba, Congavata, Axelodunum. Petriana

I place at Walton House, Aballaba at Stanwix, Congavata at Burgh on the Sands, and Axelodunum at Drumburgh. I am aware that some authorities are of opinion that one more should be reckoned between Birdoswald and Bowness, but although it is very probable that there were even several Roman stations near to the Wall, between those points, there appears certainly to have been no other *on the Wall*, and the fact that one so near as Carlisle was not reckoned *per lineam valli* seems to me absolutely conclusive that no other at Watch Cross, Lanercost, or Old Brampton, would be so reckoned.

There remain, therefore, six to be looked for elsewhere:—Tunnocelum, Glannibanta, Alionis, Brementenracum, Olenacum, and Virosidum. Of these Tunnocelum must have been on the sea, for it was garrisoned by “the first marine cohort styled the Ælian.” It must, therefore, have been, I think, at the mouth of the Tyne. And to that its name agrees, as also does the name of the next, Glannibanta. We know that Roman stations existed at Tynemouth and at South Shields. The excavations of 1875–6 proved that the latter was one of very great importance, and one possessing extreme interest for antiquarians now. Tunnocelum signifies, according to my reading, “the encircling Tyne,” Tyn o celch. It is a fact that, till comparatively recent centuries, the Lawe was an island surrounded by the Tyne, which found its way by two mouths to the sea.* Glannibanta signifies “the brink of the height.” The words, as they stand, signify that, “Glan y bant.” What more accurate description of the site of the Tynemouth Castle of to-day could be given? We have already had the word Glan (plural Glannau) in Amboglanna, and Bant or Ban we have in Banna—Bannau “the heights”—where the Roman officers relieved the tedium of the intervals between their more active military duties by following the chase in the highlands near the central districts of the Wall.

Tunnocelum then I locate at the Lawe, South Shields, and Glannibanta at Tynemouth, on the other side of the river. Alionis, the next in order, I place at Jarrow, and Brementenracum at North Shields. The

* Another derivation of Tunnocelum, and perhaps the true one, is “Tin uchel,” “lofty tail,” descriptive of the high land stretching out northwards, in which the north-east portion of the county of Durham ends, and reminding one of the heights of Bolt “Head” and Bolt “Tail” on the coast of Devon, and of a famous hill in the Peak of Derbyshire, which bears, however, a less easily quoted name.

former of these, Alionis, is one of the most interesting, I think, as regards derivation.

It seems to me evidently the Latinised form of Y llion, "the meeting of floods," and to denote admirably the position of the station of Jarrow, which was situated, where the venerable church is now, at the junction of the Tyne and Don. The Don was manifestly, and by testimony of the ancient records which have come down to us, a far larger and more important stream in British times than it is now. The remarkable silting up of the Slake shows what torrents must have poured down it and the Tyne in ancient times, bringing with them the *debris* of the lands and fields drained in their course, and old historians tell us how the Danish ships rode at anchor in the Slake and penetrated into the country by the Don. "The meeting of the floods" was therefore a most expressive name for the point of land where afterwards stood the Roman camp, and it is singular that, after the Romans left, the Britons gave the station *another* British name (just as they did South Shields, which they called *Caer Urfa*, or "the fortress on the island," and I think also the station of Magna, which they called *Carvoran*, or "parted ridge,") expressive of the same striking characteristic of the spot. They called it *Girwy*, which is the name given to Jarrow in (if I remember rightly) Bede's works, and other ancient books, and of which Jarrow itself is undoubtedly only the modern transmutation, if transmutation it can be called, for it is really hardly changed at all. *Girwy* is *Gyru wy*, "rushing, racing, water," or it might be *Garw wy*, "rough water," but the former I prefer. Indeed there is doubtless a close affinity between the two.

Bremetenracum, I have said, I place at North Shields. At all these places it is certain there were Roman fortified stations. *Bremetenracum* seems to mean "fox hill," *bre madryn*, or *bre madyn*.* It is singular that there are two ways of spelling the word *Madyn* or *Madryn* "fox," and two ways of spelling *Bremetenracum*, the "r" in each case being subject to omission.

There remain *Olenacum* and *Virosidum*. The former I place at Wardley, near Pelaw Main, the latter at Gateshead, on the heights overlooking the river. *Olenacum* appears to signify "the pool of water," or "the place of pools," *Y llyn ach*, or *Y llyniawg*, and carries our

* Or "hill of foxes," *bre madrynan*, or *bre madynau*.

minds immediately to White Mare Pool, the very present name of which shows the permanence of its existence in that locality;* and Virosidum means "Fair fell," or "Fair fells," Mir ros or Mir rosydd, which, in connection with other words would be pronounced Vir ros or Vir rosydd, and is a most appropriate designation for the heights whence the lovely views, most of us are familiar with, of the valley of the Tyne, the heights of Elswick and Benwell, and the fields eastward to the ocean, were displayed to the admiring view of the nature-loving, nature-observing, Britons of old."

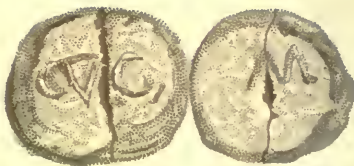
I now conclude, thanking you for the attention with which you have kindly heard me, and commending the results of my examination of the names of the various stations *per lineam valli*, and of the probable position of those hitherto unidentified, to your friendly criticism.

* "White Mare Pool" seems to be simply an aggregation of the names given to the collection of water at the spot by the successive inhabitants. "Gwyth" is Keltic for a "drain," being closely connected with "Gwy," "water;" "Mere" is Saxon for a "pool;" while the latter word is the term used at the present time. The three words, consequently, have but one meaning, and that is identical with "Y llyn ach;" and it is remarkable that in none of the four terms is any distinctive feature of the pool expressed, but only its actual existence.

1



2



3



4



5



6



ROMAN LEADEN SEALS
FOUND AT
SOUTH SHIELDS

ROMAN LEADEN SEALS.

 BY ROBERT BLAIR.

As it is highly desirable that a record should be kept in the proceedings of this Society of the occurrence, more especially in the northern counties, of any objects of antiquarian interest, I hope this will be a sufficient reason for bringing under the notice of the Society the discovery on the site of the Roman Castrum at South Shields of several *signacula* in lead, or perhaps, more correctly speaking, in pewter, all of which, with one exception (No. 1), are now in my collection of objects from the station in question.

They may be thus described:—

No. 1.—Obverse, LVI (Legio Sexta); reverse, OVA or VAO. This is of an irregular shape, but the letters on both obverse and reverse are well-formed and very legible. This is in the possession of Mr. Vint, of South Shields.

No. 2.—Obverse, cVG; reverse, the only letter legible is M. This seal is of special interest in connection with the Castrum at South Shields. The Fifth Cohort of Gauls, which it records, appears, from the number of tiles inscribed with its name which have been exhumed, to have been stationed there. The only other record of it in Britain is an inscription on an altar discovered some years ago at Cramond, near Edinburgh.

No. 3 is of an oval shape, and has on the obverse three portraits in profile, which, judging from the effigies on the coins, are, in my opinion, those of Septimius Severus and his two sons (Caracalla and Geta). The letters AVGG appear above the heads. The reverse is quite plain. Of this type three specimens have been exhumed; only one of them, however, showing the hole through which passed the string for suspension or attachment.

No. 4.—This is very small, having on each side a rude profile, similar in appearance to those on coins of the period of Constantine.

There are traces of letters round one side, but so rude as not to be decipherable.

No. 5 is of an irregular shape, and has on the obverse, ASA ; reverse, VBA or VBX. With respect to the obverse of this *bullæ*, Mr. Roach Smith writes me :—"Following my suggested mode of interpreting these inscriptions, I should read A (LA) SA (BINIANA)." Dr. Hübner* agrees with this reading of the obverse; and while considering the reverse obscure, and the name accordingly uncertain, suggests Valerii Ba . . . as a probable reading.

The Ala Sabiniana (so named, I presume, after Sabina, the wife of the Emperor Hadrian) is a regiment recorded in the *Notitia* as having been stationed at Hunnum, one of the stations "per Lineam Valli."†

No. 6.—Obverse, CV ; reverse, FL^{*}_V. The letters on the obverse are similar to No. 2, but more indistinct.

The two preceding *bullæ*, and also Nos. 1 and 2, appear to be confirmatory of the military nature of these objects. With the exception of No. 4, all appear to be of the Higher Empire. They are of very rare occurrence, so rare as almost to have escaped the notice of antiquaries. With the exception of a large number found at Brough under Stainmoor (*Verteræ* of the *Notitia* and *Itinerary*), a few at Felixstowe, in Suffolk, and two at Richboro', in Kent, "not a single specimen has been detected among the numerous remains found in this country, not even at London, Colchester, Exeter, Wroxeter, &c."‡ Dr. Hübner has in vain sought for them on the continent.|| It is difficult to determine for what purpose these *bullæ* were intended. That learned antiquary, Mr. C. Roach Smith, remarks: "The leaden seals are a new contribution to our English archæological materials. Interesting examples still attached to the strings are in the British Museum. They are apparently of the time of the Antonines, judging from the portraits upon them. It would be interesting to know why such objects should have been found only at two Roman stations (Brough and Felixstowe), and those so wide apart. These seals were fastened to merchandise by strings

* Corpus Insc. Lat., Vol. VII., Additamenta Altera, p. 318.

† Lapidarium Septentrionale, page 49.

‡ Col. Antiq., Vol. VI., p. 117.

|| Addit. Corp. Insc. Lat., Vol. VII., p. 145.

which passed through the centre" (parallel with the face) "in the same manner as the leaden seals or *bullæ* were affixed to papal deeds." * There is this difference, however: the papal *bullæ* were, as I am informed, made by submitting two flat pieces of lead to great pressure, the string being first placed between them, while the Roman seals appear to have been very rudely cast.

In a subsequent part of the same valuable work Mr. Roach Smith informs us "that, as the inscriptions appear to indicate, these seals were appended to some kind of property belonging to military bodies."† Illustrations are given of some of the Brough examples, and ascribed to the Cohors II. Nerviorum (C. II. NER), Cohors II. Aelia (C. II. AE.), Cohors VII. Thracum or Trevirorum (C. VII. TR.), etc., etc.

Another writer on the same subject, Mr. H. C. Coote, F.S.A., in the Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, considers these *bullæ* to be military and not commercial in their general character and application, and gives in support of his opinion an extract from "The Acts of the Passion of Maximilian" (a martyr of the third century), which had previously escaped the notice of archæologists, where it is stated that under the Empire recruits on embracing the profession of arms received a *signaculum* which was of lead, which every soldier wore round his neck, and which was the emblem of his military initiation.

This Dr. Hübner thinks is the best interpretation of them.

After thus stating what the most experienced and best writers have been able to advance, I think that it would seem presumptuous in the writer of the present paper to add any remarks of his own beyond expressing a hope that ere long something will be discovered to throw full light on this at present difficult subject, and thus remove it from the domain of doubtful and unsettled questions.

* Collect. Antiq., Vol. III., p. 197.

† Collect. Antiq., Vol. VI., pp. 119-120.

NOTES ON MODERN SURVIVALS OF ANCIENT WELL-
WORSHIP IN NORTH TYNEDALE, IN CONNECTION
WITH THE WELL OF COVENTINA, AT CARRAW-
BROUGH (PROCOLITIA, ON THE ROMAN WALL).

READ BY THE REV. G. ROME HALL, F.S.A.,
AT THE ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, FEBRUARY 4TH, 1878.

It has been appropriately remarked by our venerable Vice-President, Mr. Clayton, describing the discovery on his own property of a Roman altar at Procolitia (Carrawburgh), dedicated to the "genius of this place"—"Genio hujus loci" ("Archæologia Æliana," Vol. VII., Part XXII., p. 282)—"According to the Roman superstition, every person and every place had a presiding genius." But the *cultus* here referred to was not restricted to the conquering Romans. It previously prevailed among the subject British or Celtic race, and afterwards among their Teutonic supplanters. Indeed, it is as widely spread as the human race itself, when tribes and peoples are living in the lower barbarian state, whether they are of the Aryan or non-Aryan stock. Commander Cameron found it to be existing in Central Africa, connected especially with the veneration of trees and fountains. "Should the spring," he observes ("Across Africa," Vol. I., p. 144), "be disrespectfully spoken of as 'Maji' merely, the ordinary word for water, instead of as 'Marwa,' which in different dialects signifies 'pombé,' palm wine, and other kinds of drink; or should anyone wearing boots pass the spot, or fire a gun in the immediate vicinity, the ghosts at once stop the supply. Upon drawing water a small present of beads or cloth is customarily thrown in to propitiate the guardian spirits of

the well; and, as I declined to conform to this rule, Bombay, fearing some terrible disaster if the full ceremonies were not complied with, made the offering himself."

Well-worship is part, therefore, of the extensive subject of Animism, a kind of primæval Pantheism. Mr. E. B. Tylor, who has treated it most fully in his "Primitive Culture," describes under this name "the local spirits which belong to mountain and valley, to well and stream and lake, in brief, to those natural objects and places which in early ages aroused the savage mind to mythological ideas, such as modern poets, in their altered intellectual atmosphere, strive to reproduce." (Vol. II., p. 186.)

The re-discovery of the site of the remarkable fountain at the Roman town of Procolitia, whose tutelary or guardian spirit was worshipped by her votaries under the name of Coventina (a deity hitherto unknown to the Latin Pantheon), has added a new interest to this particular form of nature-worship. The sacred character of the well is ascertained with unusual clearness by means of the many inscribed votive altars and slabs: one of the latter, perhaps, representing the goddess herself, and another, by its three sculptured female figures, the three "springs"* marked in Mr. McLauchlan's plan of the station. These once adorned the temple of Coventina, which was built over the fountain, but were deposited, on some supreme emergency, with the unique inscribed vases, and other relics, within the stone-cased receptacle, and thus committed to the safe keeping of the water-goddess, whose name and fame they have recently revealed to us after so many centuries of oblivion. It is worthy of notice that Wallis ("Natural History and Antiquities of Northumberland," Vol. I., pp. 23, 24) seems to have divined its sacred purpose, and describes "the Roman Well" at Carrawbrough, in his day, as "square, and faced with freestone, of hewn-work; and has either had a dome over it, or been walled round; the stones now lying about it, nearly covered with water from the conduit's being stopt, and demolished by the carelessness or ignorance of a plowman, as I am informed; it is full up to the brim, and over-

* In Dr. Bruce's valuable monograph on "The Fountain of Coventina," p. 5, written "*in honorem Theodori Mommseni*," he speaks of the three water-nymphs carved with considerable skill on this slab, as "the attendants probably of the chief deity of the fountain." This opinion Mr. Clayton previously held.

flowing in the hottest summer; and by that man's indiscretion, he that would satisfy his curiosity to see it [as, no doubt, the writer would often desire to do, living so near to the scene as Simonburn Rectory at this time,] must risque the wetting his feet, especially in winter, or in a rainy season."

When I considered that in the extraordinary veneration of Coventina might be found also (which is now generally acknowledged) one of the originating causes of the marvellous deposit of smaller relics of the Romano-British period, especially many of the several thousand coins of gold, silver, and copper or bronze, the enamelled and other fibulæ, rings, styli, and beads, discovered within her walled fountain, it appeared to me not unlikely that I should meet with "survivals" (a word coined by Mr. Tylor), or modern reminiscences of this ancient *cultus*, or well-worship, in North Tynedale, and the districts adjoining to Coventina's sacred well. Such I have found after enquiring, often to little purpose where traditionary lore is lightly regarded, or almost lost, in many different parishes. They are long lingering remains of unconscious heathenism in this nineteenth Christian century, which have very nearly died out in Western Northumberland in the present generation; yet they were not only existent but flourishing only thirty or forty years since. The very memory of such singular and primitive customs seems now to be quickly disappearing before the invasion of the quiet life of these isolated valleys by the wonder-working powers of steam and electricity, which form an equally mysterious but more useful subject of contemplation for the rustic mind.

SACRED WELLS.

Sacred Wells, for our purpose, are of *three* kinds:—(1) Those connected with Christian places of worship or holy personages of early Christian times; (2) ordinary springs, but held in special estimation; and (3) medicinal or mineral wells. All these are usually known in their respective localities as "Holy Wells;" in the vernacular, "Halli-wells," like that which gives a name to the "Halliwell Dene" at Hexham, although the "holy well" there appears to have faded out of all recollection, as to any sacred character or primitive usage attached to it, at least in these our own days. It is probably the Dene well, on the wooded bank south of the railway, a little to the

east of the station, which is still in repute for the purity of its water, and is beautifully cool in the warmest summer day. A bath was formerly connected with this favourite spring.

That which is nearest to the now famous Procolitian fountain is *St. Mungo's Well at Simonburn*, used for very many centuries as one of the sources of the water supply of that ancient village. Wallis, with his fondness for botanical research, describes its position in connection with the habitat of the rarer alternate-leaved golden saxifrage, and the tuberous moschatell, or musk-wood crowfoot, growing sparingly "about shadowy springs and water-courses," especially "on the bank under the hedge below St. Mungo's Well at Hall-barns, opposite to the church of Simonburn, close to the brook." ("Natural History of Northumberland," Vol. I., pp. 151, 212.)

Not far distant, in Nunwick Park, there stood within memory a so-called Druid circle of five monoliths, or standing stones; and in the recent and excellent restoration of the parish church one relic was discovered—a portion of a cross, probably connected with the Saxon church which the Celtic Missionary, St. Mungo, or Kentigern, in his Apostolic journeys from his native Gallovidia, or Galloway, helped to found about the middle of the sixth century. Many of us will remember that this British Saint is said by tradition to have built his cell in a Druidical circle, within which was a well, on the site of the present noble cathedral of Glasgow. The sacred well there first served for the Druidical lustrations, then for the daily drink of the Celtic Saint, and for the baptism of his rude Pictish converts. No doubt the same might, with but little change, be held true as regards St. Mungo's Well at Simonburn. As yet, however, I have not found any survival in recent popular customs of any worship of this undoubtedly once venerated well.

Nor have I been able to ascertain anything definite, in local tradition or ceremony, respecting *St. Cuthbert's Well at Bellingham*. Here it is just outside the churchyard wall, not inside, as the late Dr. Charlton described it by an oversight. (My friend, the Rev. A. Johnson, has drawn my attention to this.) Still, being like many others in a similar position, it possesses the character of a churchyard well, which would supply the baptismal element to the first converts to Christianity there, as the fonts of the early Saxon times were usually open-air

fountains, to which pilgrimages were often made in after ages, such as that of St. Mary of Walsingham, in Norfolk, which Erasmus has described in his "De Peregrinatione." According to the usage of those days, these wells would be put under saintly invocations, and even though only pure cold water, miraculous virtues would be supposed to issue from them to the devout through their self-chosen patron. St. Cuthbert's name of power attaches both to the closely-adjoining and most interesting church, with its almost unique stone-groined roof, to the chief annual fair, held on the Saturday after the 14th day of September, and to the well. Tradition records that Bellingham was one of the places where the undecaying remains of the great Saint of Northern England rested in the memorable flight of his followers from the ravaging hordes of heathen Danes.

Reginald of Durham, who flourished about the year A.D. 1150, in supplying us with the first historic mention of the two principal villages of North Tynedale—Wark and Bellingham—relates also the story of a miraculous cure with which the holy well, now, by the usual North-country abbreviation, called "Cuddy's Well," in the latter village, is characteristically associated. About the period of the Norman Conquest a man named Sproich, by the almoner of Durham, set over the repairs of the bridges of the North Tyne, lived at "Bainlingham," whose only daughter Eda had a great love of fine garments, and was foolishly indulged therein by her parents, though themselves poor. On the morn of a certain St. Laurence's feast, she was still working at the finishing of a rich dress—"quoddam de fusticatineto indumentum"—instead of preparing to go to church, notwithstanding her mother's rebuke. When she obstinately determined to finish it, as she was declaring her intention to work to what hour she liked, "her left hand, which held the stuff, contracted thereupon so that she could not move the fingers to open the hand, nor could they, by force, draw away the cloth they grasped." The story adds that, in this extremity, human help being vain, the parents first caused the girl to *drink of the well of St. Cuthbert* by the way, and then prostrated themselves in the little adjoining church of St. Cuthbert all that night, in prayer to the "Glorious Confessor," whose figure, towards the dawning of the day, arose at the altar, descended into the aisle, and touched the contracted hand of the maiden. The cloth now dropped from her

fingers, but the miracle was incomplete: for, through terror of the saintly apparition, the mother had meanwhile also seized her daughter's hand, which she was unable to open fully until special prayers had been offered for her recovery at morning mass by the priest Samuel. Then she was able joyfully to hold up her hand in church in presence of all the congregation, who thenceforth, with the priest, the parents, and every villager of Bellingham, vouch for the reality of the miracle.

The interest of this relation in connection with our subject rests in the preliminary draught at St. Cuthbert's Well, as necessary to any hope of the maiden's cure. Whether to supplication they added offerings, placed in or around the fountain, we cannot know; but to that pure spring, which gushes forth to this day from beneath the covered stone pant into ample receptacles on the sunny hill-side between the village and the church, they came eight hundred years since with simple faith in their great patron saint, as to a healing pool of Bethesda. ("Reg. Dunelm," Surtees Society, CVIII., pp. 243-5; * Dr. Charlton's "North Tynedale," pp. 9, 10.

Another remarkable well, closely adjoining the site of an ancient church and churchyard, of which no trace, however, now remains, exists at the village of *Gunnarton* called *the Lady's Well*, or simply Margaret's Well. It springs forth in a picturesque fern-clad and moss-mantled hollow near the Gunnarton burn, beneath the hill on which the castle formerly stood, of which the ivy-covered wall is the sole vestige; and its copious flow still furnishes the chief supply of this romantic hamlet. Indeed, it occupies, relatively to the former pre-Reformation chapel of the village (one of the four ancient *capelle* of the great parish of Choller-ton) a position very similar to that of St. Cuthbert's Well at Bellingham; and it is not improbable that its present name denotes the special dedication of the sacred building itself.

Of this interesting spring I have not been able to learn anything satisfactory as to any ancient observance connected with it, denoting veneration; but let us proceed about a mile further up the beautiful Lady's Wood, beyond the remarkable British earthwork, called the

* The venerable monk of Durham describes the ceremony at the sacred well on the way to the church in these words:—"Nunc de fonte, qui sancti Cuthberti dicitur, aquas exhaunriunt, et ori languentis vel manui contractae perfundunt"—the immemorial libation of the classic mythology, and still prevalent at the present day.

"Money Hill" from the local tradition of a dragon-guarded hoard of treasure. The lovely ravine, and the parcel of land to the south, take the name of Dungill and Dungill-field respectively from this singular fortress of pre-historic times. At the extremity of these extensive woods we come to the Halliwell burn and the *Halliwell* itself, a chalybeate spring, close by the margin of the stream in an open and undulating portion of Gunnarton Fell. Whether this sacred well partakes of the same tutelary patronage as that first described lower down the burn, that of "Our Lady," by analogy the "Blessed Virgin," I could not ascertain. But it has for a long time drawn numerous votaries to its healing waters, who, as my neighbour and guide, the Rev. C. Bird, and our colleague, Mr. Martin Dunn, inform me, frequently superadd to the normal veneration of the well a marked worship of Bacchus, bringing the "strong drink" for their libations with them in their pilgrimage to the *al-fresco* shrine.

In the same parish of Chollerton the village of *Colwell* derives its present appellation from a well-known spring, not far from the now almost-forgotten site of another early *capella*. With this an interesting relic of primitive worship used to be associated in a popular pilgrimage and the bringing of flowers, perhaps a relic of the Roman *Fontinalia*, and of such rites as Horace describes at the "Fons Bandusiae," to dress the well on or about the Midsummer Sunday. Such a custom still prevails in connection with St. Chadd's Well at Lichfield on Ascension Day, and the well-dressing at Tissington, in Derbyshire, a custom that of late years has been revived also at Buxton.

But a more peculiar custom yet lingers in North Tynedale, which has recently come to my knowledge. There are three wells, which supply the wants of the inhabitants of the ancient village of *Wark*. The "town" takes its name from the great earthwork, partly artificial, called the Mote Hill, which was undoubtedly occupied by the ancient Britons, and afterwards by the Romans, as an altar found on the site, now in the Museum at Newcastle, bears witness, to defend the ford of the river North Tyne beneath it. These wells are ordinary springs of water. One, the *Old Kirk Well*, issues on the roadside, beyond the present modern church, near the Kirk-field, the site of the pre-Reformation church of "St. Michael of Werc." The others are called the *Upper or High Well*, at the entrance to the village from the west by

the road leading from the Wastes—the “vastæ” of Camden ; and the *Lower or River-side Well*, which forms an excellent gauge by which the disciples of Isaak Walton, as by a kind of Nilometer, measure the height of flood in North Tyne and the chances of salmon fishing. On New Year’s morning, within memory, each of these wells was visited by the villagers in the hope of their being the first to take what was called the “Flower of the Well”—(see Brand’s “Popular Antiquities,” Vol. II., p. 366, et seq., who refers to this curious custom)—that is, the first draught drunk by any one in the New Year. I have heard of one aged crone, who had the reputation of being “uncanny,” and concerned in forbidden devices of witchcraft, endeavouring to anticipate her rivals by going to the wells before the “witching midnight hour,” so as to be in readiness for the advent of the incoming year. Whoever first drank of the spring would obtain, it was believed, marvellous powers throughout the next year, even to the extent, so my informant averred, of being able to pass through key-holes and take nocturnal flights in the air. And the fortunate recipient of such extraordinary powers notified his or her acquisition thereof by casting into the well an offering, as we may also consider it, of flowers or grass, hay or straw, from seeing which the next earliest devotees would know that their labour was in vain, when they, too late, came to the spring in the hope of possessing the flower of the well. At *Birtley* (formerly *Birkley*) the same custom was followed in the last generation. The Croft-foot Well, corrupted into the Crow-foot Well, as if from the ranunculus that grows near it, derives its name from its position at the lower end of the field, called the Prior’s Croft, a portion of land assigned by the Umfrevilles, Lords of Prudhoe, to the Prior of Hexham Abbey, on condition of services performed in the ancient chapel, now the parish church, of Birtley. There the villagers of a generation ago frequented the well in the early hours of the New Year, like their neighbours at Wark ; but they held that the fortunate first visitant of the well on New Year’s morning who should fill his flask or bottle with the water, would find that it retained its freshness and purity throughout the whole year, and also brought good luck to the house in which it remained.

The medicinal or mineral wells, *par excellence*, the Holy Wells of the district, are especially worthy of notice. The strong sulphur and

chalybeate springs of Ramshaw's Mill, near Wark, seem until recently to have been the sites of pilgrimages on New Year's morning. Very beautiful scenery surrounds these wells, which issue beneath wooded rocks by the mill stream. Higher up in Wark's burn is another favourite sulphur spring, near the Rose's Bower waterfall, the scent of which, as Wallis says, can be discerned at a distance of two hundred yards in a dry summer, so powerfully is it impregnated. In this it resembles that at Wardrew or Gilsland, and no doubt once possessed similar religious associations. There is also a sulphur well springing from the rock in Humshaugh Wood, near Haughton Castle, where a small basin has been artificially formed on the margin of the North Tyne, and a channel cut to deliver its overflow into the river. It is a frequent resort of the inhabitants of the neighbouring village, but no special veneration, as far as I know, is paid to it.

The *Birtley Halywell*, or Holy Well, a chalybeate spring, issuing from the face of the sandstone cliff, amidst the ferns, harebells, heather, and other flowers that adorn its interstices, close to the romantic waterfall of the Holywell Burn, and to the curious so-called Devil's Stone, or Rock, in the near neighbourhood also of two ancient British camps, or *oppida*, is worthy of special mention among the medicinal wells of North Tynedale.

Though I cannot learn that any particular reverence was formerly shown to this well, which now merely trickles down the ochreous sides of the cliff, at Midsummer, yet I find that people "from far and near" used until recently to visit it on fine Sunday afternoons in summer, and itinerant vendors of refreshments from the village, which is about a mile distant, were wont to be present on the spot. Here, in close proximity, still exists the great upright, weather-worn monolith—apparently a detached fragment split from the adjacent rock by some natural convulsion—already spoken of as the Devil's Stone. Tradition asserts this to have been, "once upon a time," the scene of a Satanic leap, the very "hoof-marks" being yet visible on its altar-like summit in the shape of what geologists would call "pot holes"—a leap intended to result in the demon's descent at Lee Hall, on the opposite bank of the river, about half a mile distant; but the interval not having been carefully estimated, the consequence was a fall into the deepest abyss of North Tyne, just below the Countess Park Clints—

thence called the "Leap-Crag Pool," where the Satanic personage is said to have been drowned !

The chief well for the pilgrimage of our dales-folk in this district, especially in the last generation, seems to have been the *Bore-Well on Erringburn*, near Bingfield. In the centre of the curious peninsula formed by the winding stream, a copious spring of water, strongly impregnated with sulphur, issues to the day. On the Sunday following the 4th day of July, that is, about Midsummer Day, according to the Old Style, great crowds of people used to assemble here from all the surrounding hamlets and villages. The scene has been described to me as resembling a fair, stalls for the sale of various refreshments being brought from a distance year by year at the summer solstice. The neighbouring slopes had been terraced, and seats formed for the convenience of pilgrims and visitors. One special object of female pilgrims was, I am informed, to pray at the well, or express a silent wish as they stood over it, for the cure of barrenness ; like Hannah, the wife of Elkanah, at Shiloh, or like the Roman votaries of Juno Lucina at the great festival of the Matronalia, when women honoured their protectress, and, in particular, besought aid, her great office, to make them fruitful. If the pilgrim's faith were sufficient, her wish at the Bore-well would be certain to be fulfilled within the twelve months.

This locally-celebrated spring, which seems to have obtained its present name from having been enlarged in *boring* for coal, still retains much of its former veneration. Its day is far from being gone by for a very considerable number of visitors, with tents and purchaseable commodities, assembled (strange to say) even this last year to celebrate the old Midsummer Sunday at the Bore-Well. Though eye-witnesses have related to me these evidences even of its present great repute, notwithstanding the popular respect for religion and advance in civilisation of our dales-folk, yet in this survival to our own day there is perceptible a considerable lessening of the former remarkable veneration of this Holy Well, and of Bore-Well Sunday, which the inhabitants of distant villages, like Birtley, used to frequent in a past generation.

Mr. Coppin, of Bingfield House, has brought to my notice another *Halliwell on Todridge Farm*, in his vicinity, of whose once sacred

character, however, we can now discover no trace. He has kindly pointed out to me the entry in the "Rentale Prioris et Conventus de Hextildeshame" ("Hexham Priory," Vol. II.; "The Black Book," etc., p. 7; Surtees Society), where the spring is already a boundary mark, so far back as the year 1479. The extract runs thus:—Under Byngfield, "Et ex eadem parte versus or [ientem] super *Halywel-flatte*, inter villam de Bingfield et Todrige, xv acræ."—Under Todrige, "Et continetur inter has divisas; videlicet inter le Blake-dyke ex parte or.; et sic descendendo per lez Oppots et Todryge-burn, et le *Halywell*, ex parte bor[eali], etc."

This holy well is so near the site of the famous battle, A.D. 635, between St. Oswald, King of Northumbria, and Cadwalla, the Pagan King of Cumbria, where the former gained his great victory at a most momentous crisis, namely, Heavenfelth, or Heaven-field, that it is scarcely unreasonable to suppose that St. Oswald himself may have drank of the waters of the Bingfield *holy well* before or after the engagement. Bede's Well, at Houghton-le-Spring, is said to have taken its name from the fact of the saints and his companions having drank there in the year 700, as, no doubt, the custodians of St. Cuthbert's sacred remains did at the Bellingham holy well. St. Oswald may have thus given additional sanctity to a previously venerated spring, which may indeed have been within the limits of the historic "Heavenfield" (Bede's "Ecclesiastical History," Lib. III., c. 2, pp. 109 *et seq.*, Bohn's Edition.) For Dr. Smith (*Ibid*, Note) says, that "probably the whole country for two miles from Hallington through Bingfield to the [Roman] Wall was called Heavenfelth." Bede observes that many in his own day were wont to cut off small chips from the wood of the holy cross, set up by St. Oswald where the little chapel still bearing the name of the royal saint and martyr stands crowning the hill. These "being put into water," the spring at Bingfield may often have been visited for the purpose, "men or cattle drinking thereof, or sprinkled with that water, are immediately restored to health." Have we not here a hint given us in connection with the origin of the veneration paid to such wells in mediæval times, to which, if already revered, greater sanctity would be certain to arise from these reputed miraculous cures?

To pass for a moment to the east of North Tynedale for another

instance of the survival of well-worship, Mr. Hodgson, respecting Longwitton, says: ("History of Northumberland," Vol. I., Part II., p. 309)—"By the banks of the Hart, near Longwitton, in a wood, are three wells which rise beneath a thick stratum of sandstone rock, which Wallis calls *Thruston Wells*, probably from their coming through the stone; but the people of the neighbourhood call them Our Lady's Wells and The Holy Wells. They are all chalybeate, contain sulphur and alumine, and were formerly in high reputation through the neighbourhood for their very virtuous qualities. That furthest to the east is called the Eye Well, on account of its beneficial effects in cases of inflammation of the eyes, and flux of the lachrymal humour. It has a very ancient inscription in four lines in the rock immediately above it, but many of the letters have been purposely defaced, and to me," Mr. Hodgson remarks, "it seemed illegible. Great concourses of people from all parts also used to assemble here, in the memory of the old people, on 'Midsummer Sunday and the Sunday following,' and amuse themselves with leaping, eating gingerbread brought for sale to the spot, and drinking the waters of the well. A tremendous dragon, too, that could make itself visible, formerly guarded these fountains, till the famous knight, Guy, Earl of Warwick, wandering in quest of chivalrous employment, came this way, and waged battle with the monster. With words that could not be disobeyed, the winged serpent was commanded from his den, and to keep his natural and visible form; but as often as the knight wounded him, and his strength from loss of blood began to fail, he glided back, dipped his tail into the well, and returned healed and with new vigour to the combat, till the Earl, perceiving the cause of his long resistance, leapt between him and the wells, and in one furious onset stabbed him to the heart." (See Richardson's Table Book, I., pp. 145, 146; and Wallis, I., p. 17.)

The last example which I will adduce, passing to the westward of the valley, is the most remarkable of all—I mean the famous *Gilsland Wells*. These much-valued sulphur and chalybeate springs have drawn to their healing waters thousands of the votaries of the Goddess of Health, since about the middle of last century, from the North of England and the South of Scotland. It is supposed that Sir Walter Scott transferred many of the scenes witnessed by him here to his

description of St. Roman's Well. Within my own recollection, the yearly pilgrimage to Gilsland Wells on the Sunday after old Midsummer Day, called the Head-Sunday, and the Sunday after it, was a very remarkable survival of the ancient *cultus* of primitive times. Hundreds, if not thousands, used to assemble there from all directions by rail, when that was available, and by vehicles or on foot otherwise. They were wont to walk or drive annually at the summer solstice, even from North Tynedale, the neighbourhood of Wark and Birtley, to Fourstones, and thence by railway to Rose Hill Station, that they might take, unconsciously, it may be hoped, their part in a heathen solemnity.

Dr. Bruce, speaking of the celebrated Rudge Cup (in the "Lapidarium," pp. 305-7), which, by the way, was found in the *well* of a Roman building at Rudge Coppice, near Fuxfield, Wilts, considers that Banna, a name inscribed on that fine enamelled vessel, dedicated by the "Venatores Bannae," is Gilsland, and that the cup itself "was intended as a votive offering to the presiding deity of some health-bringing fountain" in the neighbourhood of Amboglanna (Birdoswald), which fountain he identifies with this spa. "Certain it is," he justly remarks, "that no spa in the four northern counties of England is, in these modern days, so celebrated as that of Gilsland, which is so generally resorted to for medicinal purposes." "There is not a spring in the whole mural region," was his previous observation, "so likely to attract the attention of the Romans as the spa of Gilsland, which is distant about two miles from this station of Amboglanna."

From these survivals of an ancient culture, now very fast fading into oblivion, we may note the close connection between well-worship and solar adoration. In the Yggdrasil myth of the old Scandinavian religion, according to Finn Magnussen and others, the legend of Wuotan or Odin leaving his eye in pledge ere he could drink at Mimir's famous well of wisdom, signifies the sun's descent every evening into the sea, as the two swans swimming in the ethereal Urdar-fountain denote the sun and moon. (Mallet's "Northern Antiquities," Bohn's edit., p. 489; Edda's "Völuspa," p. 22; Grimm's "Deutsche Myth," p. 133.) The primitive solar festival of Christmas, "*Dies Natalis Solis Invicti*" reminding us of the dedication of so many of the coins of Constantine

the Great and Licinius from Coventina's Well, "*Soli Invicto Comiti*"—which was held about the New Year of the modern style, is yet kept up in our popular use of yule-logs, portions of which are still often retained for the whole year till Christmas comes round again, for the sake of good fortune, in North Tynedale.* It has its natural sequence and pendant in the fire-festivals or bonfires of the summer solstice at the Old Midsummer, which until recently were commemorated on Christenburg Crags and elsewhere, by leaping through and dancing round the fires, as those who have been present have told me. This custom may indeed be still kept up in these remote parts of the valley; and, as we have already seen, the veneration of the once sacred fountains lingers at the same season into the present times. But of this conjoined worship of holy wells and of the sun-god Mithras, which was so widely prevalent in the last transition period between the fall of Paganism and the triumph of Christianity in the fourth century, and its connection also with Christian symbolism, there is now no time to speak. The driving of cattle through the smoke of the need-fire, as a supposed preventative of murrain, and the carrying from farm to farm as quickly as men could ride of the sacred self-lighted fire, made by two pieces of dry or rotten wood being rubbed together very rapidly, has occurred at Birtley within the last thirty years; and this forms one of the most recent survivals of the adoration once so generally rendered to the great orb of day and to the element of fire.

Hodgson, in his "History of Northumberland," (Vol. II., Part II., p. 176), makes a remark very apposite to this subject, in a note, when he speaks of Ulpham Feast and Erard's Well, mentioned in Ranulph de Merlay's "Charter to the Abbot and Convent of Newminster," in 1138, though it is no longer known as "the well of Erard." "On Old Midsummer's Day, July 5, the people of this country used formerly to assemble in large concourses at holy wells, and still do so in Ireland. In the old pagan theology it was the day of the feast of the summer solstice, when the sun entered the tropic of Cancer, which was the northern gate by which Mercury conducted souls to their birth." Wingate Spa, in that neighbourhood, in the beginning of the present century, had a bath to which great numbers resorted for the cure of

* My informant and parishioner. Mr. Percy Robson, is a good authority on all questions relating to the folk-lore and customs of the district.

scrofula and divers diseases from Scotland and other distant places. It is not said whether any special concourse assembled at the Old Midsummer there.*

Direct evidence of votive offerings, such as were made of old at Coventina's sacred fountain, is now difficult to obtain in connection with the holy wells of the surrounding district. Still, traces of such veneration as is yet extensively prevalent elsewhere may probably be discernible in the former dressing with flowers of the spring at the village of Colwell, similar to the better-known well-flowering at Brewood and Bilwood in Staffordshire, at Nantwich, and, on St. Richard's Day, at Droitwich; as well as at Tissington and Buxton in Derbyshire, which have been already named. A relic of the same primitive custom seems to appear in the casting in of the grass, etc., at the well-watches on New Year's Eve at Wark. These offerings of flowers represent that picturesque phase of well-worship which, in the days before Coventina's Temple arose over the (probably) long-previously venerated spring at Carrawbrough, attracted the graceful tributes of the Roman poets, Horace and Virgil, and in recent times of our own Milton and Dyer, when the nymph or genius of the spring, the gentle tutelary spirit of well or lake, stream or river, like Sabrina, goddess of the Severn, was propitiated for the future with these fitting floral oblations, or thanked for healing ministrations in the past.

"The shepherds at their festivals.

Carol her goodness loud in rustick lays,

And throw sweet garland wreaths into her stream.

Of pansies, pinks, and gaudy daffadils."—*Comus*.

Thus far I have not been able to discover in West Northumberland the more usual associated votive offerings which are so frequently the concomitants of pilgrimages to sacred wells in other parts of Great

* Such popular observances as I have here noted are not without a practical value even in these utilitarian days. In March, 1878, the Whalton Green case was brought before Mr. Baron Pollock, at the Newcastle Assizes, and decided by the jury in favour of the right of user by the villagers. The Rector of Whalton gave evidence as to the constant use of the part of the green in question since 1843. "On the 4th July (Old Midsummer Eve) in every year a bonfire," he said, "was lighted a little to the north-east of the well at Whalton, and partly on the foot-path, and people danced round it and jumped through it. That was never interrupted." Here is an undoubted relic both of solar and (probably) of well-worship before unknown to me—a survival of pre-historic times—aiding in the decision of a question of law in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Britain and Ireland, as well as in foreign countries. In our county I only know of two authentic instances of such direct gifts still to this day presented by devotees, degenerate survivals indeed of the ancient veneration.

About a mile-and-a-half north of *Wooler*, on the flanks of the Cheviot, near to an ancient British hill-fort called the Cup and Saucer Camp, is a copious spring of water—a “wishing well.” Here my informant, the Rev. Wm. Greenwell, F.R.S., has seen pins, buttons, and even a penny rarely, placed as offerings in the well, the modern rotary meanwhile appearing to expect that any wish then formed would certainly be fulfilled. It is, I believe, also called locally the “Pin Well,” from the usual character of the votive gift, as at St. Helen’s Well, near Sefton, in Lancashire; at St. Madron’s Well, near Penzance, in Cornwall; and at another “pin well” in Westmorland. The passers-by, rich and poor, are supposed to drop therein a “crooked” pin, and country maidens especially keep up the time-honoured custom with this convenient propitiatory gift to the well-nymph or fairy, crooked things being considered lucky things, as a “crooked sixpence” is often treasured up and carried on the person for good fortune.

The other instance is the Well of St. Ninian, at *Holystone*, near Alwinton, not far from the junction of two Roman ways.* That noble Welshman, the Evangelist of the Southern Picts, who died in A.D. 432, and may possibly have visited Coventina’s sacred spring at Carrawburgh, and her temple, ere its glory had quite departed, had no doubt used it for baptismal purposes. It is connected not only with the first introduction of Christianity by a missionary of the British Church, but it was also a place of note during the short-lived success of Paulinus, the apostle of the Latin Church in northern England. Here, under King Ecgbert, his patron, as at the famous well of Yevinger, at Pallinsburn also, where we may still trace his name, and at the Wall-town Well, near the Roman station of Carvorrnan (Magna), Paulinus is said to have baptised three thousand souls. And no wonder that it should have been so highly honoured, both by primitive pagans, as it would certainly be with them an object of

* See Mr. Maclauchlan’s “Survey of the Eastern Watling Street,” p. 21, Note, and Wallis, II., p. 22. It is also called “Our Lady’s Well.”

veneration, and also consecrated as a "laver of regeneration" by the early Christian teachers. St. Ninian's Well at Holystone is still worthy of the description Wallis gave of it in 1769, as a "beautiful bason of water, rising at the east end in bubbles perpendicular to the horizon, with fine green sand. The bottom is variegated with it and white sand. It is walled round with freestone, hewn-work, two or three courses still standing, shaded with trees and shrubs." This most copious spring is said to discharge 560 gallons of water each minute. At the bottom, visible through the pellucid water, Dr. Embleton informs me he has formerly noticed many pins lying, undoubted votive offerings; and proofs, as at the "Pin Well" near Wooler, of the yet-existing reverence with which, in isolated districts of our own land, such sacred fountains are regarded.

Behind the ruined chapel at Jesmond, on the edge of the dene, and under a moss-grown arch, is the once celebrated St. Mary's Well, which is said to have had as many steps down to it as there are articles in the creed. Grey, in his "*Chorographia*," tells us that "people came hither with great confluence and devotion from all parts of this land;" and Bourne declares that "Pilgrims came from all parts of the kingdom to worship here." They resorted to it "for the benefit of the supposed holy water."

Not far distant, on the road to Benton, was another famous spring, called in Brand's time the "Rag Well," from the practice of votaries leaving—as a kind of offering—a portion of their garments on trees and bushes, growing near the sacred fountain, which appeared densely covered with rags; just as the good citizens of Inverness are described to have flocked, within memory, on a May morning eastward to the well at Culloden, to taste of its waters and to cover with their offering of rags the branches of the surrounding trees.*

Greatly esteemed also, like St. Mary's Well at Jesmond, as of "more sanctity than common wells," was that of the Venerable Bede, at Monkton, near Jarrow. "Here," Brand says,† "As late as 1740, it

* See "*The Celtic Magazine*," January, 1878, pp. 101-2, concluding article on "Ancient Mythology and Modern Superstitions," by the Rev. Alexander Macgregor, M.A. Mr. Hugh Miller, F.G.S., tells me he has frequently observed such offerings at wells both in the Highlands and in Germany.

† "*Pop. Antiq.*," Vol. I., p. 383 (note); and "*History of Newcastle*," Vol. II., p. 54.

was a prevailing custom to bring children troubled with any infirmity; a crooked pin was put in, and the well laved dry between each dipping. Twenty children were brought together on a Sunday to be dipped in this well, and at Midsummer Eve there was a great resort of the neighbouring people." In the "Picture of Newcastle," it is added that the concourse at the summer solstice was attended with "bonfires, music, dancing, and other rural sports," but that these customs have been many years discontinued; although persons then alive (in 1812) remember to have seen great numbers of infirm and diseased children dipped in expectation of their being restored to health.

Quite recently I was myself told by an eye-witness at Riccarton Junction of a man from that district of Liddesdale, who had taken the journey by the North British Railway to St. Boswells for the purpose (strange anachronism!) of visiting a Holy Well, not of attending any tryst, or the celebrated fair, the chief market for sheep and lambs for the South of Scotland. From which of the copious springs, and whether from one of those forming the beautiful petrifications, the much-desired supply of healing water was obtained, was not known; but the pilgrim of this present year of grace had duly paid his votive offering to the sacred spring in the form of the very smallest current coin of the realm—*one farthing*—and returned home in full faith, apparently, that the cure of a near relative suffering from cancer would be effected by the application of the simple and certainly harmless lotion.

Most miscellaneous in their variety are the smaller relics recovered by rustic searchers from the neighbouring hamlets when sifting in a close sieve the *debris* of sand and soil cast out from Coventina's Well, including, among many other articles, ear-rings and finger-rings, entire or broken, and chiefly of bronze, styli, dice, jet and glass beads, flint and quartz pebbles, shells, fragments of glass, and iron nails, from those of a large size to the tiniest specimens.

These strikingly illustrate the descriptions given us of the votive offerings formerly, or even yet, paid to the sacred wells, especially in the Highlands. While at Kirk-Michael, in Banffshire, a small piece of money or a few fragrant flowers conciliated the Celtic spirit of the fountains, Neithe; or, as at the pool of St. Fillan, a small bunch of heather; elsewhere, the frugal offerings of "shells, pebbles, rags, or stuff worn out, pins, needles, or rusty nails," are mentioned by Brand.

Mr. Macgregor says, the divinities of the wells in St. Kilda had to be propitiated by offerings "in the shape of shells, pins, needles, pebbles, coins, or rags," otherwise they would be inexorable. Old and young at the well of Craigie, in Munlochy Bay, in their pilgrimage on the first of May (Old Style), brought coloured threads and rags of cloth in thousands, and hung them upon the rocks and brushwood as propitiatory gifts to the saint of the healing waters. Campbell, in his "Popular Tales of the West Highlands,"* relates how he has often deposited copper caps amongst a hoard of pins and buttons and similar gear placed in chinks in the rocks and trees at the edge of the "Witches' Well," in Islay. During the Queen's sojourn last summer in Ross-shire, she paid a visit to Isle Maree, in the picturesque loch of that name. Beside the ruined chapel there is on the island a sacred well, the water of which is, like St. Fillan's Pool, famous in tradition for its miraculous cures in cases of insanity. A drink of it had, however, to be supplemented by a ducking within it and by the much more objectionable process of being towed round the island after a boat—an ordeal which was actually undergone some twenty years ago by a patient, with the not surprising result of changing quiet imbecility into raging madness. Close to the well stands a tree, into the bark of which every visitor is expected to place a coin—a custom which was doubtless observed by the Royal party.†

Well might Macaulay remark of such meagre votive offerings as these, copper coins of the smallest value being the costliest tribute paid, and that rarely enough—speaking of a holy well in St. Kilda—that they are "the poorest acknowledgments that could be paid to a superior being, from whom they had either hopes or fears." Pennant says that a trifling money-payment used to be rendered to the *genius loci* at the wells of Spey and Drachaldy, and he specifies *fourpence* as the usual offering of the devotee at the wonder-working well of St. Tecla, at Llandegla, in Wales, who, if a male, offers in addition, like Socrates to Æsculapius, a cock; if of the fair sex, a hen, to the guardian saint of the sacred spring; attended with certain prescribed ceremonies in the adjoining church, probably not very different from those de-

* Vol. II., p. 13.

† See the "*Graphic*" on "Talladale and Loch Maree," October 6th, 1877.

scribed in connection with Reginald of Durham's account of the cure at St. Cuthbert's Church and well at Bellingham.

Still more striking are the instances of superstitious practices and offerings made to wells related by Dr. Arthur Mitchell in the last of his "Rhind Lectures on Archæology" (First Series), given in Edinburgh, in May, 1876. There he speaks of such relics of old pagan beliefs as recently or even yet existing in Scotland among people by no means irreligious, and partaking "in all the advantages of the advanced civilisation of the country." The Presbytery records of the parish of Applecross state that, besides the sacrifice of a bull yearly on the 25th of August on the island of Innis Maree to the god or spirit Maree, or Maelrhubius, their patron saint, stones were consulted by the inhabitants as to future events, oblations were left on the hills, and the people gave adorations to wells. At least a dozen wells continue to be worshipped to this day in Scotland, in the south as well as the north, in Ayrshire and Kirkeudbright, equally with such better-known holy wells as that at Craiguck, in the parish of Arvoch, Ross-shire. "An anxious loving mother," he remarks, "would bring a sick child to such a well at early morning on the 1st of May, bathe the child, then cause the child to drop an offering into the well—usually a pebble, but sometimes a small coin. Then a bit of the child's dress," as at the Rag Well of Benton, not far from Jesmond, "was attached to a bush or tree growing on the side of the well. These visits were paid in a spirit of earnestness and faith, and were kept more or less secret. Some of the wells had names of Christian saints attached to them;" but Dr. Mitchell "never knew a case in which the saint was in any way recognised or prayed to, and there was reason to believe that these wells were the objects of adoration before the country was Christianised, and it was a survival of the earlier practice to which Seneca and Pliny referred."

We all know, not alone from the remarkable discovery of the Roman treasure-well of Coventina, the water-nymph or presiding deity of the Procolitian spring, how the Latins paid this kind of nature-worship. The Romans valued and used the medicinal virtues of mineral springs especially, in all Western Europe, from the Rhenish country to the Pyrenees, as well as in our island, at Bath and else-

where. The Greeks of the earlier ages considered the gods, not so much as personal deities, throned on the Olympian heights, but rather "in the light of indefinite powers," with which particular woods, caves, and fountains, and

" The liquid lapse of murmuring streams,"

were mysteriously associated, a relic, perhaps, as some have thought, of still earlier Pelasgian theology.* But we must retire to a past that is more distant still, to the remotest Aryan era, to find the primitive Well-Worship of the Indo-Germanic race in the "Fountain of Immortal Youth," of which the Vedas tell, from which the bather emerged to enjoy thenceforwards whatever age he pleased, as Cyavana, the son of Bhregu, did. Such, so the Iranian thought, was the lake or fountain Ara, surrounding the world-tree Ilpa, growing in Brahma's world, beyond the ageless stream, which in like manner renews the youth of men. Such, too, it has been pointed out by Kelly in his "Curiosities of Indo-European Folk-Lore," are the sacred fountains springing, by a mythological parallelism, from beneath the three roots of the great Ash Yggdrasil, the cloud-tree of the Norseman, from out of which the Norns or Fates drew water every morning. (Pp. 139-140.)

The national *religio loci* led the Saxons, as we know from Bede, to assemble occasionally at certain sacred places for the celebration of religious rites. These sacred places were often marked by consecrated trees, rocks, and wells. So deeply seated was this feeling of veneration in the superstitions of our Old English ancestors, that laws were directed against it from time to time, down to a late period in the Saxon era. King Egbert's "Poenitentiale" proscribes adoration, offering libations, and sacrifices to fountains: "if any man vow or bring his offering to any well—*gif hwilc man his aelmessan gehâte oth-*

* Homer's picture of the great Olympian assembly, when "cloud-compelling Zeus" summons the gods whilst the Greeks prepare for battle, and lets them each favour their own party, belongs to a later age, when such beliefs were established by long use in the early classic world, with the halo of poetry and art already surrounding them. All except Ocean obeyed the call of Jove, the Rivers and the Nymphs who dwell in lovely groves and *at the springs of streams*, and in the verdant meadows.

Οὐτε τις οὖν Ποταμῶν ἀπέην, νόσφ' Ωκεανοῖο,
Οὐτ' ἄρα Νυμφάων, αἵτ' ἄλσεα καλὰ νέμονται
Καὶ ΠΗΓΑΣ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΝ καὶ Πίσσευ ποιήεντα.

the bringe to hwilcon wyllle; if any one hold his vigils at any well—*gif hwa his waecan aet aenigum wyllle haebbe.*" (Tylor's "Primitive Culture," Vol. II., p. 194.) The 16th of the canons of the reign of Edgar, A.D. 963, enjoins the clergy to be diligent to advance Christianity and extinguish heathenism in withdrawing the people from the worship of trees, stones, and fountains, and other heathenish practices therein specified; and the laws of Knut prohibit the worship of heathen gods, the sun, moon, fire, rivers, fountains, rocks, or trees—some of which had probably been venerated by the preceding Romano-British and ancient British inhabitants from time immemorial. No doubt Augustine and his successors would carry out the spirit of Gregory's famous letter to Mellitus (Bede, Lib. I., c. 30), and they would bid their missionaries, passing from village to village—as King Oswald and Bishop Aidan did throughout the wide bounds of ancient Northumbria—gather the people together in the sacred places at which they had been wont to assemble for their local rites; the stone circle on the solitary moor, the dark grove of the primæval forest, in the swelling mound or barrow, by hoary rock, or monolith, or the sacred fountain or holy well. In later times this superstitious practice is, however, not wholly forbidden. The 26th canon of St. Anselm, in the early Norman age, A.D. 1102, directs thus:—"Let no one attribute Reverence or Sanctity to a dead body, or a Fountain (or other things as sometimes is to our knowledge), *without the Bishop's authority.*" Much later, similar practices were forbidden, particularly at St. Edmund's Well, without St. Clement's, near Oxford, and St. Lawrence's, at Peterborough, by Dr. Oliver Sutton, Bishop of Lincoln. But beside these interdicts, we possess in the Lansdowne MS., 465., a "Pontificale ad usum Ecclesiæ Romanæ et Anglicanæ;" that is, a form of benediction for a new well. In the romances of the Middle Ages we find the Vedic fountain of eternal youth reappears after a long oblivion.

In connection with the subject of these notes, we are naturally reminded of the Well of Coventina at Procolitia. What was the cause and the purpose of the vast accumulation there of Roman coins and antique relics? It may certainly, I think, be in great part attributed to the panic-fear of the dwellers around it on some sudden invasion, probably, of the fierce natives living north of the Mural Barrier. The

throwing in of the inscribed altars and tablets, and the large preponderance of coins of certain reigns, those especially of the earlier Antonines and of the first Constantine, would alone, I think, prove this. But another, at least partial, cause of the great deposit must also be sought, I believe, to account for the regular gradation of the series of imperial coinage of the Higher and Lower Empire. The number varies very much, so far as I have observed it, according to the length and the prosperity of the different reigns. Even Didius Julianus and Marius are represented, and scarcely any appreciable interval is anywhere apparent from the age of Antony and the second triumvirate (even of the consular period there is a coin, one of the Greek-Italian city of Neapolis) down to the age of Gratian, and of the latest Romano-British currency, the small and debased, but very numerous imitations, called the *minimi*, which preceded the Anglo-Saxon mintage of the sceata and styca.* The utter absence of these latter coins of the second historic race of conquerors

* The *minimi* are not recorded in Mr. Roach Smith's catalogue of coins from Coventina's Well, at the end of Mr. Clayton's Memoir. They will now be noted by him in the "Collectanea Antiqua" and "Num. Chron.," as I have drawn attention to them. They are of the usual character, being apparently copied from the small brass of the Tetrici, Victorinus, Postumus, and the Constantine family. From the *debris* cast out of the well at least an hundred have been observed by myself, and many more must have been rescued by the sieve from the rubbish-heaps. Though poor in design and execution, they have an important bearing on the latest date of the well-deposit. There is, however, a decided conflict of opinion as to the time when they were minted and in currency. The decision of Mr. Roach Smith, to whom I have submitted several specimens, must be received with the utmost respect, coming from probably the highest authority. He writes: "That they were struck for small change, and without any care about the images or superscription, there can be no doubt. I believe they were struck at intervals late in the decline of the Empire, but not post-Roman. We have good coins of Magnus Maximus and of Constantine the Third after Gratian."

But other eminent numismatists take in preference the view to which I had already referred in this paper. Mr. Thomas Wright, F.S.A., in "The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon" (First Edit., p. 430), remarks that the *minimi* "are supposed to have been struck during the period between the abandonment of the island by the Imperial Government, and the establishment of the Saxon kingdoms." He instances the two hundred found of late years at Richborough, in Kent (Rutupiae), as showing that "that post continued to be occupied as a place of importance during the period just mentioned." The same inference would hold good of the station of Procolitia. After twenty years Mr. Wright repeats his previous opinion in "Uriconium," (pp. 337-8), and gives two illustrations from *minimi* found at Wroxeter. Mr. J. Yonge Akerman agrees with this view ("Introduction to the Study of Ancient and Modern Coins," p. 107), and it is also received by authorities at the British Museum.

As at Uriconium (see Wright, p. 407) after long inquiry, only one Saxon coin, a "styca" also, has been found, which I have seen among several Roman medals from the *debris* out of Coventina's Well. It is one of Ethelred, in fair preservation. No doubt it was accidentally dropped outside, like the Indian silver coin of Akbar the Mogul dropped inside Procolitia, long afterwards.

from the Carrawburgh Well of Coventina seems to imply both that her worship had fallen into disrepute, and also a kind of superstitious dread of the water-goddess—the local deity of the subject race. It appears as if no Angle or Saxon had ever dared to disturb the sacred precincts of her temple, much less to rifle the buried treasures of her fountain in post-Romano-British days; not that the Tenton was less given to the veneration of the phenomena of nature, whether well, or stone, or tree, as the “Pœnitentiale” of Egbert, as well as the statutes of Edgar and Knut, against such idolatry abundantly testify. Moreover, the presence of so many personal ornaments and implements, enamelled fibulae, signet and finger rings, beads, styli, etc., apparently denotes an intention in the minds of their former owners to propitiate the presiding Genius of the Procolitian spring, and the hope of obtaining some desired benefit, by the casting in of these propitiatory offerings—that is, the ancient well-worship, of which we yet perceive the lingering vestiges in this district of western Northumberland.

Archæologists in England have paid less attention than those of some other countries to the subject of well-worship, and to the “survivals” of that culture in our still-remaining, but now fast-vanishing, folk-lore. Our own well-known and valued authorities, Bourne and Brand, both Novocastrian clergymen, have preserved the memory of the local, once famous pilgrimage wells, where healing was expected and offerings made, at Jarrow and Jesmond, and elsewhere. In Henderson’s “Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders,” an excellent recent work, the only reference—a partial one, though he refers to Loch Monar in the Scottish Highlands, (p. 132)—is to the form of divination yet used by girls in Cleveland when they wish to ascertain whether they will be married or no, by suspending a borrowed wedding-ring over a tumbler of “south-running water:” that is, water from a stream which flows southwards, like that, the three springs of which fill the well of Coventina. The famous Worm of Lambton, first located in its well, and the Dragon Guardian of the Longwitton Wells, are perhaps a reminiscence of the supposed indwelling and often malevolent spirit—the water-kelpie of later-times.

Mr. W. Henderson relates a sad story from his personal knowledge (pp. 128–9), of a poor Northumbrian shepherd suffering from rheumatism, who, on the advice of “the wise man” of the College and

Bowmont district, was laid in the sharp-running stream that flowed close to his cottage, in full faith of a cure, though this was done in the depth of winter. His death a few days afterwards was the natural result of so desperate a remedy. Superstition of the worst character made him the water-spirit's victim even more certainly, and causing him to endure far greater agony, than if the swollen river had gripped him when bathing with chill and cramp; or, when fallen by accident into the surging torrent, it had held him in its inexorable grasp until he drowned.

"River of Dart! river of Dart!
Every year thou claim'st a heart."

Such is the old couplet of Devon Folk-Lore, personifying the malignant and cruel influences of the water's rush and fury, as of some river-demon of primæval mythology.

We have, however, an analogue closer at hand which, in its cold-blooded ruthlessness of expression, makes us understand something of the awful feeling that prevents the fishermen of Bohemia from venturing to snatch a drowning man from the waters, lest the indwelling spirit, deprived of its sacrificial victim, should vent its anger on themselves.

"Tweed said to Till,
 'What gars ye rin sae still?'
Till said to Tweed,
 'Though ye rin wi' speed,
And I rin slaw,
 Yet, where ye drown ae man,
I drown twa.'"

This darker phase of our subject may be fitly passed over with a reference to the well at Wavertree, near Liverpool, which is said to bear the following inscription:—"Qui non dat quod habet, daemon infra videt: 1414"—a parallel to which we find transferred only from water to land in respect of Satanic possession, as Mr. G. Henderson tells us in his "Popular Rhymes of Berwickshire," in the "Clontie's Croft, or the Gudeman's Field," consisting of a small portion or corner of the best land, or, as other authorities say, a mere worthless scrap on the principle of "cheating the devil," which was set apart by the inhabitants of most Scottish villages as a propitiatory gift to the Evil One, on which property they never ventured to intrude.

Such gloomy and degrading superstitions as these may be recorded, as being of some value in the elucidation of the strange mental and moral phenomena, that have caused so many pre-Christian and Pagan beliefs to survive in our midst in the cold and cloudy north. They have, however, none of the bright poetic beauty of the earlier Indo-Germanic myths and nature-personifications, offspring of sunnier skies. And, when we remember the ready credence given by thousands to, perhaps, the most recent attempt at a revival of well-worship; namely, at Marpingen, in Germany (*Times*, 25th January, 1878), we need not regret their fast-approaching extinction, as the certain result of the advance of knowledge and Christian enlightenment.

At the meeting of our Society on December 5th, 1876, when Mr. Clayton read his first most interesting paper on his great discovery, the writer had the opportunity of making some remarks bearing on this subject which, after personal research over new ground, he has now been able to treat, he hopes, not with too great fulness, considering the special interest that attaches to everything connected with the Well-Nymph Coventina, her sacred fountain and its treasures, and her temple, the foundations of which have since then been brought to light by Mr. Clayton.

On the same occasion Mr. Greenwell appropriately instanced the Well of the Goddess Sequana at the fountain head of the River Seine. Dr. Bruce had not omitted a reference to this notable discovery in the "Lapidarium" (p. 205), where he quotes the opinion of the late accomplished archæologist, Mr. Albert Way, to the effect that it furnishes, besides the instance of the "Acque Apollinari," the ancient baths at Vicarello, and the Rudge Cup found in the well at Rudge Coppice in Wilts—"another remarkable illustration of the usage of throwing votive offerings into springs of water."

We remember then the apparently gradual mode of the deposition of at least a large proportion of the coins in the walled fountain of Procolitia, through successive years and generations and centuries, without any perceptible interval; with some exceptions which may be accounted for, as many believe, the earliest coins being found at the bottom, the latest near the surface. We are mindful also of the very similar discovery in 1875 at the French Spa of Bourbonne-les-Bains, in the department of the Haute Marne, where 4,000 bronze coins, 300 of

silver, and a few gold were found, ranging from the reign of Augustus to that of Honorius. From similarly discovered inscribed stones found here on the site of the Roman building, which had once been built around this spring, like the primitive Temple over Coventina's Well, a God Borco and a Goddess Damona seem to have presided over the waters. In June, 1875, at the source of a small brook in the village of Horton, Dorsetshire, was found a number of Roman vases containing coins, supposed to have been thrown in as offerings. We compare these instances with the fine altar discovered in 1821, near the "Abbot's Well," in the suburbs of Chester, inscribed both back and front *Nymphis et Fontibus Leg. xx. v.v.*, "To the Nymphs and fountains, the twentieth legion, valiant and victorious." And we can scarcely doubt that the conclusion, as I understand it is, of the Rev. W. Barnes, B.D., of Professor Hübner, the Rev. W. Greenwell, F.S.A., and other authorities, which has been my own opinion from the first discovery of Mr. Clayton's most recent treasure-find, is on the whole (though difficulties still exist which will never be fully unravelled), not unlikely to be correct. The great hoard buried in the fountain represents, with the reservation—no doubt a considerable one—before mentioned as to the altars, etc., the various offerings from men, women, and children, for at least three centuries of the Romano-British age, when they would propitiate for favours to be bestowed, or deprecate evils which they feared at the powerful hands, as they believed, of Coventina, the Goddess or Nymph of the Well of ancient Procolitia.

As suggestions have been desired in connection with the derivation of the name Coventina, one which has met with some approval may be offered in concluding these remarks. I do not think there can be much doubt as to the reference of the second part of the word, namely, *tina*; still the very name of both branches of the river Tyne, which the votaries of the goddess would daily look down upon from the heights of Carrawburgh. I am glad to find from my friend Mr. Blair that the eminent antiquary, Mr. Roach Smith, in a recent letter to him gives this as his own conclusion. He takes, however, the first part from the Latin prefix *co* or *con*, together, and *vent*, as the probable British name of one branch of the Tyne. My own idea is to look for some native Celtic word, having a Latinized termination, descriptive of the position of the Well and the Temple of Coventina, such as we

know has originated most of the hill and river names not only of Britain, but of the greater part of Europe, traversed by the earliest Aryan migration from the East. There is a term of local etymology of frequent use still in Wales, *cefn*, pronounced *keven*, meaning a back or *ridge*, which occurs in the English form in the Chevin, a ridge in Wharfedale, Chevin Hill, near Derby, Chevington in Suffolk and Northumberland, also in Chevy Chase and the Cheviot Hills, part of the Pennine Range, or backbone of England, as it has been called. Aurelius Grotus, the dedicator of one of the altars found in the well, changes the *Covontina* of Vincentius's inscription to *Coventina*. May we suppose that the Batavian cohort which was stationed at Procolitia had therefore heard varying pronunciations of the rude name of the goddess, which they rendered into their Low Teutonic speech as best they could? If so, the meaning of the simple water or spring (from *Dan* or *Tan*, one of the five chief Celtic names for water, or *tian*, running water) is sufficient, with the accurate description prefixed, of its location on the *Cefn* (*Keven*), the ridge between the two Tynes. The great spring on this high ridge received, at all events, as we are all aware, the special veneration of the gallant cohort, whose original home was near the sea at the mouth of the Rhine. This perchance caused them to worship here, together with the water-nymph *Coventina*, the mighty sea-god, Father Neptune (still revered by the British tar when crossing the equator), whose recumbent figure, with the trident in the left hand, was carved by them at Procolitia, far inland though it be, and being found there was transferred to a more appropriate resting place within the walls of the Old Castle in the chief port and metropolis of the North of England.

NOTE.—Since the above was written some additional points in favour of the panic theory of the origin of the great deposit in *Coventina's* fountain, as opposed to the votive-offering theory, have been brought to my knowledge through the kindness of Mr. Clayton and Dr. Bruce, and also by Mr. Roach Smith in the correspondence with which he has favoured me. Certain new data not previously noted, I believe, which have been obtained from further personal research, combine with these to modify in a slight degree the result of my previous observations. But that *very many* oblations were presented in *Coventina's* Temple, or cast into her sacred well as gifts of votaries from time to time throughout the Roman occupation, is now conceded on all hands. With this compromise, seeing that full certainty is now impossible, we may be content, when truth, not controversy, is our object.

An opportunity may present itself hereafter to bring such new facts as I have ascertained in connection with the great "find" of the Well of Procolitia before our Society; and to give the opinion of a valued and competent correspondent, the Rev. Wm. Barnes, B.D., the well-known philologist and antiquary, on the probable derivation of the name of the newly-discovered goddess, *Coventina* herself.

COVENTINA.

 BY W. H. D. LONGSTAFFE.

I MAY appropriately commence this paper with the words of Mr. Coote :—"There are persons who cannot patiently estimate a mass of particular facts, howsoever laid before them ; in other words, cannot appreciate what lawyers call evidence. I (continues he) will examine this question of persistence (meaning his own subject) upon its probability also, viz., upon the general and admitted facts which have reference to, or are connected with, it. * * *. But mere belief alone will not do much either for history or pedigree. There must be something else, which, if it is not evidence, must look a little like it—something that must make a theory possible or probable to some minds."

It happily flashed across the brain of our friend Mr. James Clephan that the last part of the name of the goddess commemorated at Procolitia alluded to the South Tyne, into which the water from her temple, after receiving additional supplies, finds its way at no great distance. He requested me to consider whether this idea was feasible. I deemed it to be well worthy of attention, and, thinking it over, I asked myself what, in case the surmise were correct, could the former part of the name be ? And then, I sent myself to Coventry.

Pulling old Holland's charming translation of Camden's *Britannia* out, I found two suppositions as to the derivation of the name of that "sweet and neat" city, both requiring the double use of the letter T, which we probably require in discussing the word COVENTINA. Premising that, as in the name of the goddess and that of Covent Garden, we find both Conventry and Coventry, it appears that Camden inclines ("ut credimus" are his words) to identify the first part of the words with a convent or covent of monks. Now there is a story of Canute having placed nuns at Coventry, who were displaced in 1016. In 1043 Earl Leofric, and, as some say, the famous Godiva, his wife, enlarged, and in

manner built anew, the monastery for male residents. In the charter of confirmation by Edward the Confessor in the same year, he makes no mention of the former foundation, nor of S. Osburga, said elsewhere to have been a former abbess, and to have been included in the dedication, nor of Lady Godiva. But this we learn, that Leofric (and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle confirms this statement) did construct a monastery "in the town which is called Coventre," words which indicate that it was already so designated. Against any allusion to the earlier nunnery, it may fairly be argued that while nunneries were introduced into towns, a nunnery was an improbable origin of a town, and that a combination of the common British *tre* (identical with *town*) and of the Latin or English *convent* is unlikely at so late a period of the Saxon occupation.* As a rule, the first parts of names are more ancient than their adjuncts, which are sometimes pleonastic. Camden himself hesitated, for after giving the optional derivation, to which we shall come presently, he proceeds to his description of the place with the preface "Well, whencesoever it was so called."

The second proposition reads thus :—"Yet there be (some) that would have this name to be taken from that little brook that runneth within the citie at this day called Shirburn, and (which) in an ancient charter of the priorie is written CUENTford." This little stream, like that a little below Procolitia, is composed of two streamlets. Not that I think the two streamlets at Procolitia compose the Northumbrian Con-vvent.

To me it is impossible to resist the junction of the British, and therefore earlier, part of this name *Cuentford* with the British *tre*, and identifying this name *Cuenttre* with the modern Coventry. And if, leaving Holland, we next turn to the valuable epitome of Leland's labours on our rivers—prefixed by Harrison to what is called the Shaksperian edition of Hollinshed's Chronicles (1577), and appearing in an altered form in the later edition of 1586—we find the course of the vein we have reached. Cursorily we drop upon the rivers Conwey, Colne (on which is Quenington, after the manner of our T'inningham on the Northern Tyne and Skerningham on the Skerne), Covine, flowing into the Severn, Queney, Kynel (giving name to Kenelsworth), Kensig, and Kent, with Kentmere, Colnehed, and Kendall upon it.

* Neither *convent* nor *covent* is in Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.

There is, by the way, a little stream called Kent, which flows into the Tees near Darlington.

In such names we have ample explanation of some part of that of Conventina, Coventina, or Cowentina, and it is very interesting to observe the attempt of the local sculptor at Procolitia or thereabouts trying with his two *V*'s to produce the sound of *Gu* or *W* found in Horsley's river Wentfar, near Norwich, wherein he thought that the name Venta of Venta Icenorum was "well enough preserved," as he puts it. This is on his page 443; and on his previous page 442 I observe the name Colnbrook in a distant locality. Before returning Horsley's volume to its shelf, let me note that he founds, on page 450, an argument upon an "if." "If (says he) Glanoventa signify a bank or hill near a river, *ven* or *vent* in the British tongue signifying a river * * ." On the subject of *W*, Mr. Coote's page 33 may be usefully consulted. He states that "it had and has a sound always unknown to the whole of Germany and Scandinavia."

From these details I inferred that Conventina was the goddess of the South Tyne, and that her name is merely that of the Tyne combined with other Celtic matter, about which there may be more trouble in coming to correct conclusions.

When I first delighted in my friend's suggestion, a difficulty arose about this combination in my mind which never ought to have arisen; for the poet of poets sings that "the lovely Bridegroom came,

"The noble *Thamis*, with all his goodly traine;
But him before there went, as best became,
His auncient parents, namely th' auncient *Thame*,
But much more aged was his wife than hee,
The Ouze, whom men do *Isis* rightly name."

So that Conventina was as likely a name as well could exist nigh a river. Before laying the splendour of Spenser down, one line must be quoted:—

"The Cle, the Were, the *Guant*, the Sture, the Rowne,"
and these lines must be referred to:—

"Then came the Bride, the loving *Medva* came,
Clad in a vesture of unknowen geare
And uncouth fashion, yet her well became."

* * * * *

"On her, two pretty handmaids did attend."

This is an interesting coincidence, and coincidences sometimes give a clue to the inner spirit of artisans the most barbarous. There is a stone from Procolitia on which a superior water-goddess, pouring water from an urn, has two inferior ones as supporters turned towards her and doing the like.

From this stone it is clear that three streams were represented at Procolitia by three naiads, creating perpetually-running waters, of whom one was chief. Accordingly, on another stone, the chief goddess thereon, called Covventina, is similarly employed in her solitary glory.

Spenser's wonderful marriage of the Thames and Medway merely carries on an ancient and beautiful idea, adapted with singular delicacy by Scott when he speaks of the Greta meeting the Tees, and in rather an interesting way by the author of "The Marriage of the Coquet and the Alwine"—a little poem printed by the late Mr. Adamson among the Newcastle Tracts.

Bearing in mind the sleepy figure at Chesters (No. 148 of "Lapidarium"), representing the male genius of a river, I may be pardoned for a flight of imagination that there might be an old poetical notion that the guardian of North Tyne was masculine, that of the South Tyne feminine, and that they were wedded at the junction of their streams nigh Hexham.

That names of males or females are sometimes derived from natural objects cannot well admit of doubt. Even our sceptical Surtees (who served Sir Walter Scott out in his own coin), when he reaches Dame Luneta de Stretelum, is compelled to ask the question:—"Is it too romantic to suppose that this lady's Christian name, which has never occurred to me elsewhere, was formed from the river Lune?" Perhaps he might have been justified in asking, also, whether the final syllable did not allude to the first one of the name of the river into which that Lune flows, the compound name "Tu-esis," hodie Tees.

Taking up Mr. Coote's "Romans of Britain" again, it is well to note his instances of such names, and of nouns looking like female ones doing duty for masculine cognomina. Euphrates was accurately the name of a male, Ida of a female. Asella and various such names quoted were names of males in the time of the Empire. Lucæna, a Roman name, was that of an Anglo-Saxon burgess of Canterbury.

Memphis was both a man's and a woman's name. Both the Anglo-Saxons person called *Æsica* were males. The *Ida* of *Bernicia* was a male.

If, then, the North and South Tynes were each called *Tina* in ancient days, the name might be applied to a male divinity of North Tyne, to a female divinity of South Tyne.

That Conwent is not exclusively northern seems to be likely, remembering *Coventry* and the *Covine*. And here in the North we have evidences of *Convent* and *Kent*. Are there, in these forms, one word or two, used all over? Were these two words pleonastic? We cannot shut our eyes to *Colne* being distinct. We cannot shut our eyes to the existences of the river *Wye*, of the *Conwey*, of *Dare* and *Der-went*, and of *Went-fare* and *Wents-beck*.

Let me remind you of some general rules.

1.—There are certain primitive words relating to water which are met with alone.

2.—These primitive words are, very frequently indeed, combined.

3.—The combinations may be pleonastic, referring to one river, or,

4.—They may contain the names of more rivers than one. Taking *Tame-Ouse* in *Thames*, and *Ouse-Eure* in *Isurium*, as guides, it would appear that there was a practice of adding the name of a new-comer to that of the stream supposed to receive it.

5.—The new-comer sometimes supplants a larger stream as to name. Thus the great *Missouri* gives way to the less *Mississippi*, and the *Eure* gives way to the *Ouse*.

6.—On the other hand, sometimes the parent-river simply overrides the new-comer; sometimes for a period or for a distance it survives in conjunction with it. There is a pregnant passage in *Harrison* on this subject, as follows:—"Here, sayth *Lelande*, I am brought into no little streight, what to conjecture of the meeting of *Isis* and *Ure*, for some say that the *Isis* and the *Ure* doe meete at *Borowbridge*, which to me doth seme to be very unlikely, sith *Isurium* taketh his denomination of *Isis* and *Uro*, for it is often seene that the lesse ryvers doe mingle theyr names with the greater, as in the *Tham-esis* and others is easie to be found. Neyther is there any more mencion of the *Ure* after his passage under *Borowbridge*, but only of *Isis* and the *Ouze* in these dayes, although in olde tyme it helde unto *Yorke* itselfe,

which of Ure is truly called Urewije (or Yorke shorte), or else my perswasion doth fayle me. I have red also Ewerije and Yorwije. From Borowbridge, the Ouze goeth to Aldbrough, and, receiving the Swale by the way, to Aldworke, taking in Usburne water from the south west, then to Linton upon Ouze, to Newton upon Ouze, and to Munketun, meeting with the Nydde ere long, and so going withall to the Readhouses, to Popleton, Clifton, Yorke, * * * and so into Humber."

7.—From the foregoing passage, seeing that Isurium is above the junction of the Eure with Ouseburn, it appears that combined names may relate and work back to the entire main stream or a considerable part of it.

8.—Combined streams may, from their point of juncture, receive a new name. "There is," sayeth Harrison, "no ryver called Humber from the heade, wherefore that which we now call Humber hath the same denomination no hygher than the confluence of Trent with the Ouze, as beside Leland, sundry auneyent writers have noted before us both." Possibly the name of Eure did not anciently extend upwards beyond the junction of what, in the upper courses, is now also called the Eure, with the Cover.

If etymology can be admitted at all as quasi-evidence, it can, as I think with Hinde, only be admitted in a corroborative fashion. Brand seldom relaxes into a smile, but he seems to enjoy the varied derivations of Tyne. One authority made it "the *extended* river," another the "*pent in*" river, a third "a river formed of *two* rivers." The last derivation is possibly under the other circumstances deserving of as much attention as the other two derivations, but only as corroborative. From the marriage of the twin rivers at Hexham, the word "tyn," if it means "double," is proper enough for the main stream. Nor, as to the couple, need we resort to the dogma that this appropriate name might, under Rule 7, be extended to both of them, because it is applied to them after their union. Each of them was entitled to the epithet: North Tyne, from its junction with the Reed, South Tyne, from that with the joint stream formed by the twin rivers Allen; and then this joint stream itself might on the same principle well be called Tyne before it ran into the Con-vent. The facts (not to speak of the theoretic system) hardly justify opinions as to the name Tyne ;

but there are at least three reasons for believing that, from time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, the South Tyne was called Tyne, whatever might be the ancient name of the North Tyne :—

- 1.—The junction of one Allen with the other.
- 2.—The junction of the united Allens with the South Tyne.
- 3.—The occurrence of “Tina” in the name of the goddess worshipped north South Tyne.

Pardon may be given for repeating Brand’s quotation from Drayton’s *Polyolbion* :—

“ I could, if I did please,

Of my two fountains tell, which of their sundry ways
 The South and North are named, entitled both of Tyne ;
 As how the prosperous springs of those two floods of mine
 Are distant thirty miles : how that the South Tyne named
 From Stanmore takes her spring for mines of brass that’s famed ;
 How that named of the North is out of Wheel Fell sprung
 Amongst these English Alps, which, as they run along,
 England and Scotland here impartially divide ;
 How South-Tyne, setting out from Cumberland, is plyed
 With Hartley, which her hastes, and Tippall that doth strive,
 By her more sturdy stream, the Tyne along to drive ;
 How the Allans, the East and West, their bounties to her bring,
 Two fair and full-brimmed floods ; how also from her spring
 My other North-named Tyne through Tyndall maketh in.”

I now come, with much diffidence, to the application of what I may call evidences, differing, I admit, in degree of quality.

The name of Convventina contains three numerous and well-known pre-historic names, whatever they may mean, of streams which, using distant nomenclatures, may be termed the Colne, the Guent, and the Tyne, the latter being eventually deified in the form of a female goddess, with her attendant naiads, the Con and the Went ; her name combining designations of three streams, as we have names combining those of two, such as Tame-Isis, Isis-Ure, Dare-Went, Wents-Beck, Con-Wye, Us-Wye, and so forth *ad infinitum*. To any certain marshalling the three in order, I do not, after many centuries, disguise the difficulties presented. I cannot presume to theorise as to whether the Ouse-Eure or the Team-Ouse formulary should be adopted ; but

we have the fact that there is a tendency to euphonise *n* by converting it into *l*. "Colchester," says Horsley, "stands on the river Colne, and is owned to be Roman; and one would think that its name does much favour its being Colonia, which is the common opinion. I am rather inclined to think that Colonia is the British name Latinised than that it is the Latin appellative turned into a proper name, and given to the river." A curious and a fine question may occur whether when we find the Roman Corstopitum emerging as Colebridge (hodie Corbridge) we may not have had the ancient name of the river kept up through all revolutions. If the whole river was Colne in its earlier days, Colchester was exactly what one would expect to find as the name of the fortification where the travellers on Iter I. crossed a Colne.

The peculiarity of the spelling of the name of Corbridge was not lost upon our earlier antiquaries. After mentioning the flowing of the "Ridde" into the North-Tine "a little lower than Belindgeham" [his spelling agrees with present pronunciation], Harrison proceeds thus: "Beneath the confluence in like sort of both the Tines, standeth Corbridge, a towne sometime inhabited by the Romaines, and about twelve myles from Newcastle, and hereby doth the Corue run [alluding to the little stream which passes the mill west of the Roman station] that meeteth ere long with the Tine. Not far off also is a place called Colchester, whereby Lelande gesseth that the name of the brooke should rather be Cole than Corue; and in my judgement his conjecture is very likely, for in the life of S. Oswijn, otherwise a feeble authoritie, the worde Colbridge is alwaies used for Corbridg." It appears, however, from what is printed of Leland's MSS., that he only thought that "the pretty brook, where evident tokens were still to be seen of the old bridge, was called Corve, though the name was not well known," and, "by this brook, as among the ruins of the old town, is a place called Colecester, where hath been a fortress or castle."

Upon the same principle of *n* being apt to slide into *l*, and remembering how Dearnington became Darlington, but that the popular abbreviation Darnton survives, it seems probable that the township of Cownwood, or Coanwood, or Collingwood, in the parish of Halt-whistle, refers to the ancient name of one of the streams which it adjoins. Conwentingwood, or Conningwood, would naturally become

Collingwood. The Coanwood-burn runs through it, but this is only an inconsiderable rivulet, which might easily take its appellation from the land which, being a township, is necessarily of ancient date. It abuts upon the South Tyne itself. The only other word that may just possibly allude to the primitive appellation of the Tyne seems to be Condercum, the ancient name of Benwell.

If any of these resemblances to the first syllable of *Convventina* refers to that joint name, it must have retained and lost its rule over the whole course of what is now South Tyne and Tyne, just as a *Went* succumbed to *Eure*, which succumbed to *Onse*, which succumbed to *Humber*, not without struggles as to the *Went* now *Eure* in *Wensleydale*, or the *Eure* now *Onse* at *York*.

The present evidences of the second syllable of *Con-vvent-tine* are also scanty. Taking the analogy of *Isurium*, we find the word in the tributary *Darwent*, and as *b*, *f*, *v*, *w*, and *gu*, are convertible, we may remember *Benfieldside* on the *Darwent*, and *Benwell* on the *Tyne* (the last being the *Bynwhalle* and *Ad Murum* of the Saxon period, as it seemeth). Much more interesting in connection with both *Convventina* and *Glanoventa* is the fact that, according to the late Mr. Bainbridge's careful description of the *Maiden-Way*, after leaving the proximity of the Roman station at *Whitley Castle*, it "passes through the meadows, towards the north-west corner of *Wanwood-Bent* large pasture on the other side of *Gilderdale Burn*," crosses that tributary of the *Tyne*, and at the other side, crosses "the corner of *Wanwood-Bent* pasture, in its course to the Roman station at *Kirby-Thore*, called *Burwens*, or *Burrans*," at which Mr. Bainbridge ended his survey. But the identity of the *Vent* and its junction with the *Tyne* before *Wanwood* is reached does not depend upon mere similarities of name. *Harrison*, in 1577, is precise in his language. "The South Tine (says he) ariseth in the *Cheviote Hilles* [meaning that continuation of what we call the *Cheviots*, which is now known as the backbone of England], and eare it hath gone farre from the head it meeteth with *Esgyll* on the east, and another rill on the west, and so going by the houses towards *Awsten-moore*, it joineth with *Schud* from by west, and soone after with the *Uent* from by east about *Lowbiere*; from *Lowbier* it goeth to *Whitehalton* to *Kyrke-Haugh*, crossing the *Gilders-Becke*, to *Thornhope*, where it is enlarged with a water on

each side to William's-Stone." It is quite clear that here what is now the river Nent is intended by Uent; and in the old maps of Hond and Blome that river is called "Vent flu.," flowing past Lowbier, a place marked as opposite to Alston. In the form Nent we possibly have a trace of the last letter of Con; but we must remember that there is a river Nen elsewhere. The truth is, that considering the total disappearance of Beda's Denisesburn, whereon the British king, Cadwalla, died, which was only identified with Rowley-water by one insignificant charter, and the exclusive use of the name Tyne for many centuries, we could have felt no surprise had there been no traces whatever of *Con* and *Vent* on the river.

There is on the banks of the joint-stream Con-vent (the latter name having perhaps had a tendency to extinguish Con, just as Tyne extinguished both the antecedent syllables) a notable Roman station which, from no etymological surmises, but on totally different grounds, Mr. Hodgson-Hinde conceived might be *Glanoventa*. It is at present known as Whitley Castle. Mr. Hinde properly considered that etymology may be used "in corroboration of a conclusion otherwise probable, but is totally inadequate as independent testimony." His "grounds of etymological affinity, not certainly vague or fanciful, but such as we cannot fail to recognise so far as this species of evidence is admissible," are elucidated by his allusion to the Notitia station of Longovicum being (in spite of Harrison's assertion that the Lane or Lune giveth name to Lancaster, and Spenser's "stony shallow Lone that to old Loncaster his name doth lend") placed at Lancaster, and Derwentio on the Derwent in Yorkshire. He never goes into meanings of words, but only into local identities; and so he, in support of Hodgson's views in his little book of poems written at Lanchester, points out as to Longovicum, that Lancaster *is* on the Lune, while the first syllable of Lanchester (*Lang* in our old records) is undoubtedly identical with the first part of Longovicum, and that there is a Derwent at Ebchester as well as one in Yorkshire. It is clear that he did not trouble with the reasons for these names. His solution of the difficulty as between Vindomora and Derwentio (which names, after all, may have something in common) is that the road of the Itinerary crossed the Derwent at Vindomora, more than $\frac{1}{4}$ -mile above the station Derwentio of the Notitia at Ebchester. But all this

use of etymological resemblance was in conjunction with the probability, for other reasons, of Piersebridge being Magæ. We might even go further, and, all other reasons being favourable, point out, as to the large station of Piersebridge, and as to Moresby-on-the-Sea, that Magæ was garrisoned by the Pacenses, and Glanoventa by the Morini, a seaside people, from whose port Cæsar sailed. The former corroboration may be allowable, but there is no river Venta at Moresby; and it does not follow that the seaside people could not defend an inland fort. So, again, in considering the rival claims of Ptolemy's Ituna Æstuarium (Solway Firth) and the mouth of our Tyne to the site of Tunnocelum on the sea coast, we must first consider the improbability that the compiler of the Notitia would, after proceeding from east to west, suddenly jump back to the east, and leave unnoticed the necessary precautions on the west coast against the Scots. After this, we may fairly use the circumstances that the Eden still flows into the Solway, and that Horsley considers that Ptolemy's river Tinna "is certainly Edin in Fife. Its situation between Boderia and Tava," says he, "proves this sufficiently; and the latter part of Edin seems to retain some of the ancient name, for D and T are oft interchanged."

Here again the meaning of words seems no more to have troubled Horsley's brain than it did Hinde's, when he was puzzled as to whether Iter X—which he had secured from Mancunium (Manchester) to Bremetenracum (Ribchester), and to Galacum (Overborough), on good itinerary and inscriptional evidences—went north-east to Whitley Castle, or north-west to Moresby, at one of which places he would place Glanoventa. So far as he uses etymology, he says:—"It is remarkable that Camden had some suspicion of the identity of Galacum and Overborough in consequence of the name of the rivulet on which the latter stands, the Lac, being incorporated in the Latin word. Whitaker has pointed attention to some Roman remains at a place called Borough, a little to the left of Horsley's direct line, which in point of distance would answer very well for Alone, which name, if we were disposed to give ourselves up for a moment to the hazardous guidance of etymology, might be rendered Ad Lonam, on the Lon or Lune, whose waters flow past the station." He did not attempt to distinguish between the varying explanations of Glanoventa, *alias* Glannibanta, and, singularly enough, he does not say that Venta had

occurred to him, as it did to Camden, who, just as he traced *lac* in Galacum, remarks that “Glanoventa in the British tongue signifieth the shore or bank of *Venta*,” not troubling to explain what *Venta* means, but in his own way entering his notice of Glanoventa under the “Wents-beck,” hodie Wansbeck at Morpeth, and modestly saying:—“Upon the banks whereof, I have thought this great while, whether truly or upon a bare supposall I know not, that in old time Glanoventa stood, which was fortified by the Romans with a garrison of the first cohort of the Morini, for defense of the marches, which the very situation doth, as it were, perswade, and the river’s name, together with signification of the same, induceth mee to thinke. For it is seated within the raunge of the rampire or wall, even where the booke of Notices placeth it; the river’s name is Wants-beck, and Glanoventa in the British tongue signifieth the shore or bank of *Venta*. Whence also Glanon, a city in France upon the sea shore, whereof Pomponius Mela hath made mention, may seeme to have drawn that appellation.” In some earlier editions, Camden, who evidently thought that, wherever Glanoventa was, it must be on a river corresponding with *Venta*, gives the same etymology—combined with the occurrence of the letters *VENT* on a shattered inscription—as a reason for placing it at Burgh, a fort close to Banbrig in *Wentsedale*, as he spells the words. The occurrence of a second inscription, at the Burgh there, caused him to change his mind and to identify that camp with *Bracchium*, but the passage led me to observe that in the later edition he makes *Baintbrig* to be at the confluence of a little river called *Baint* (*Beynt* in 1228) with the *Ure*. This confluence is thus noted by Drayton:—

“ * * * the Your,
From Morvil’s mighty foot, which rising with the power
That *Bant* from Sea-mere brings * * * ”

Seamer-water is a remarkable lake, and the river *Baint* “with a great noise streameth out of it.” One cannot wonder at its issue giving name to the upper valley of the *Eure*, and *Wanless*, and *Wendsley* or *Wentsley* upon it. The whole river is now called the *Eure*, until it assumes the name of *Ouse*. The case reminds one of the *Tyne*. But the chief interest lies in this direct example of *Went* and *Bant* being the same, though, even without it, no one accustomed to the converti-

bility of certain letters would hesitate to identify Glannibanta with Glanoventa.

Although he does not express it, I suspect that one difficulty was passing through Hinde's head in submitting Whitley Castle as Glanoventa. He did not like to resist the conclusion that Brobonacae or Braboniacum was the station near Kirby-Thore. I admit that Braboniacum was in that part of the country, for both name and locality come, where they should come, after Lavatris on the Laver [observe the river again giving name to the station, and surviving it to the present day!] that is Bowes, and again, after Verteris—which, we have no reason to doubt, is Brough. Still, looking at Dr. Bruce's map, and what camps have to be served with roads, it does not follow that Kirby-Thore was the precise locality of Braboniacum. On the other hand, it may be that the Maiden Way did not strike off direct from Kirby-Thore southward, any more than it did from Magna northward, and the same argument as to Braboniacum we may apply to Gallava. There may well be two Roman names near Kirby-Thore—not necessarily both names of stations—(as it is supposed that there were two names at Ebchester), or there might be two stations, as there are two railway stations at Darlington, with lines north and south through one, east and west through the other, there being no station at the crossing of these two lines, just as there are no traces of any fort at the distinct crossing at Wreckenton of the Roman roads from Newcastle to Chester-le-Street, and from Shields to Lanchester. Waiving, however, these intricate questions of crossings or running-powers between two lines, other evidences are in favour of Glanoventa being Whitley Castle. Hinde's quiet explanation why Iter X might well begin there, and the northern part of the Maiden Way be ignored in an Itinerary, is in our "Transactions" (4to, Vol. III., p. 117), and the wonder to a numismatist would be that an iter did *not* begin there. Long after the Roman reign we know with what care our Edward I. reserved the mine and the miners of Alston—in other words, the silver mine called that of Cumberland or Carlisle—when, at the instance of his nephew Alexander, Prince of Scotland, he re-granted the manor to the Veteriponts. There was no possible reason why the silver should not go directly to Mancunium in the time of the Romans, instead of circuitously to Luguwallium (Carlisle). The road northward might be

useful for some reasons, but southward it would be what we would now call a good lead-road, and Iter X seems to be confined to this more important part. It is self-evident that some of our best known Roman roads, even when as well formed and paved as the Wreken-dike, find no place in the Itinerary. So also we find, by the complete disappearance of roads clear and perfect in the last century, how little dependence is to be placed on the mere presence or absence of remains of such works.

It forms no part of my paper to investigate the history of the North Tyne. If *Tyne* means *double*, the north stream is by the junction of two powerful streams at Reedsmouth fairly entitled to the name, and if it does not, there is nothing peculiar in the proximity of two rivers of the same name. Beyond the early appellation of Tindale for its territory, I have no other evidence as to its name Tyne. Whether its name was of two or three syllables, the form of the syllable preceeding Tyne cannot admit of much doubt. The river rises in a part of the mountain range which probably gives the origin of a numerous northern family, and which in the old maps is termed "the Belles." Let us now take up Harrison again. "The Tine (says he) ryseth of two heades, whereof that called North Tine is the first that followeth to be described. It springeth up above Belkirke in the hylles, and thence goes to Butterhawghe (where it receiveth the *Shele*), thence to Cragsheles, Leapelish, *Shilburne*, Yarro, Smalburne, Elis, Grenested, Heslaside, Billingham, and at Readsmonth taketh in the Reade. * * * * After the confluence it passeth to Lechall, to Carehouse, crossing *Shillington* rill by west." All further that I shall do as to North Tyne is to remind you of *Cilurnum*, *Chollerton*, and *Chollerford*, in hinting that the *Shele* of North Tyne corresponds with the Vent of South Tyne.

The likeness of the names of rivers and of the places, *Venta* or otherwise, to which they give name, is really an endless subject, and I must refer you to the whole of the pages of Horsley, and those of other honest, even if mistaken, authors. The proximity of rivers bearing the same name, or varieties of it, is remarkable, but I suppose that the inhabitants would simply talk about going down to the water for meat or for drink, and have as little communication with their neighbours, or the world at large using the same practices, as their conquerors would have.

For instance, we would hardly expect to find Alston at the junction of Con and Vent, and Ale-burn flowing into their joint stream which receives the combined two Allens arising at no great distance from the head of Ale-burn, Alne being so prone to become Ale, especially in composition. So also we should hardly expect to find so near the origin of Convventina, another river "called Ken," which "cometh from Kentmeres Side," and leaves "Colnehed Park by east." I again quote Harrison.

I only wish that some one would attempt to work out an archæological subject of such interest. We appear to arrive at the substratum of some language of which comparatively modern evidences are but secondary proofs, and that he could complete his task, and save his successors poor Harrison's perplexity. "For (says he) so moth-eaten, mouldye, and rotten are those bookes of Lelande which I have, and besides that, his annotations are such, and so confounded, as no man can in maner picke out any sence from them by a leafe together, wherefore I think that he dispersed and made his notes intricate of set purpose, or else he was loth that any man should easily come by that knowledge by readyng, which he, with his great charge, and no lesse traveile, attained unto by experience."

P.S.—Just as I deemed it fit to prefix certain sentences to my original paper, I deem it right to say, as an appendix, that as an out-of-the-way writer on Coventina and Glanoventa, I was not aware of some western labours partly bearing upon the appropriation of Glanoventa and Gallava. The *Gentleman's Magazine* was a most useful publication for antiquaries at large before the societies and archæologia, and tracts and journals, and rival magazines, and "notes and queries," and papers, and speeches, and lectures, which have destroyed it, were invented. I have to bend to the miserable result, and seek for needles in numerous bottles of hay as best I can.

With Mr. Hinde's first thoughts in placing Glanoventa on our northern Venta at Whitley Castle we may agree, and from its exceptional circumstances, I take it that no more interesting excavation could take place than that of the singular station so called.

The suggestions that Coccium is at Wigan, and that Bravonacae is at Brougham, deserve careful consideration, and their acceptance, if justifiable, would remove difficulties. I regret very much that Mr.

Just's intended survey of the Kirby Thore district has not been made; and I think that it is my wisest course not to disturb my cautious language. The detached but celebrated inns of Catterick Bridge and Rushyford may not have passed out of the minds of the surviving travellers on the Great North Road which passes them, Iter I., as it may truly be called at Cataractonium.

P.S. II.—The frequent independence and obliteration of the stony made-ways of the Romans near their stations, and the consequent difficulties experienced by Mr. Maclauchlan and others in determining the course of an Iter at those points, may have arisen from several circumstances. Those which may naturally occur are:—(1) The dislike, in all ages, of some suburban, and, to a certain extent, of some urban, residents to a noisy thoroughfare being too close to their dwellings. (2) The need of a moderately open space outside of the station walls for military works or operations, for it is not to be supposed, from the siege of Troy downwards, that a great keep would be resorted to, and the enemy allowed to bring his means of attack up to the very walls, in the first instance. (3) The imprudence of providing the enemy with a good road for such a bringing of munitions of warfare either sooner or later. (4) In an emergency the roads, even though at a reasonable distance from a station, would be torn up against the foe; and that the stations were needed at one period, and were sometimes eventually attacked and destroyed, is obvious from the very fact of the construction of them, and from the evidence at such places as Lancaster of the flames by which they occasionally perished.

In connecting Convventina and the three urns on one of the sculptured stones at Procolitia with streams, no attack is made upon the sanctity of the well at Procolitia, or the votive character of a few at least of its long series of coins, some of the earliest of which seem to be the finest among them, and very unlikely to have been in circulation at a late period of the Empire, before which the decreased weight of the money would have a tendency to doom any rubbed heavy coins to the melting-pot. That the coins found, or the bulk of them, whether taken off the furniture of the shrine, or, in some other way, valuable chattels of public or private bodies or individuals, were not originally in the well, but suddenly hurled with the altars, seems

to be likely enough. Against the obvious suggestion to the mind accustomed to the later English coinages and discoveries of hoards of their produce, it may with great propriety be argued that this island could hardly be largely the seat of Roman coinage, and probably not at all so until a comparatively late period; and that the small coins then struck were not of the splendid metal of which the earlier and larger brass coins are composed, either here or abroad, a fact opposed to the idea of recoinage here, or exportation of the coins themselves or the melted brass to be reminted. Just as our remodelled sovereign soon went for twenty-one shillings and was called a guinea, and the practically inferior value of the inferior money of some of the Scottish Stuarts and the English Tudors necessitated a reform, the circulation of the old coins might continue with a much greater value for them comparatively. The difficulties of the votive theory which presented themselves to Mr. Roach Smith were the enormous number and the generally worn condition of the coins. To any quondam churchwarden the poverty of the offerings may not be a surprise; and the elevation of Coventina to the rank of goddess of an important river, and of her well to that of an object of pilgrimage for all the Tynesiders of the time of her worship, decreases the difficulty of number. Still these points *are* difficulties, and the purely votive theory requires the belief in a possible but not probable idea that the goddess's priests, beyond being honest, were transcendently conservative, not only keeping the offerings unspent, but keeping them in the precise state in which they were presented; although, as one would think, they and their establishment must have become more exilic in revenue every year as the old beliefs of the west were sinking in consequence of the introduction of modified ones from the east. From every aspect, if it be conceded that the mass of ancient brass coin was sufficiently valuable to be taken care of, one question still remains: Did it belong to the station of Procolitia, or to the temple of Coventina? The officers concerned, civil or ecclesiastical, would, upon any flight, intend to return to their deserted premises. Which body was most able to carry treasure? Which could best subsist without it? And why was there no attempt made to regain it? Was one party, or were both parties, strictly honest, superstitious, reverential, or archæological, looking to future fortunes, or to the beliefs or information of future men?

It certainly requires strong faith in human virtue to answer the last question in the affirmative. With such strange problems before me, I have thought it right to show my utter inability, after much thought, to solve the perplexities about the find. The extent, as to time, of the contents of this find, reminds one of that in the mineral waters of Vicarello, near Rome, where the offerings are stated to have begun with *æs rude*, and to have run through the Republic and the Empire. As to why Conventina was especially worshipped at this particular well, one might just as well ask why the well at Stockton, in the chapelry of St. Thomas and parish of St. Mary, was St. John's Well, and what real connection there was between the sanctity of the well at Jesmond and St. Mary? Whether religious or civil commotion caused the final deposit in the well at Procolitia, can perhaps never be more than a matter of conjecture. In any case ancient reverence would prompt it. Such reverence long survived, and as this is a Northumbrian case, it is proper to write a reminder that one of the evidences is, that in the North of England the enclosure around a sacred stone, tree, or fountain, as on the Continent, seems to have become, or always had been regarded as, a sanctuary or place of *frith* or peace, like the substituted frith-stols in churches. In the Anglo-Saxon law of the Northumbrian priests this remnant of heathendom is expressly condemned in these words:—"If there be a *frith-geard* on any one's land, about a stone, or a tree, or a well, or any folly of such kind, then let him who made it pay lah-slit (a species of mulct), half to Christ, half to the land-rica (or lord of the soil); and if the land-rica will not aid in levying the fine, then let Christ and the king have the bote." The offence was not confined to Northumbria. The canons enacted under King Edgar ran parallel:—"We enjoin that every priest zealously promote Christendom, and totally extinguish all heathendom; and forbid well-worshippings, and necromancies, and divinations, and enchantments, and man-worshippings, and the vain practices which are carried on with various spells, and with *frith-splots*, and with elders, and also with various other trees, and with stones." There is another very similar and puzzling word, but as it also occurs in the law of Northumbrian priests, in a clause other than that already quoted, it would appear to be distinct from frith. The other clause in those laws imposed a fine, to be

divided between Christ and the king, against any one that should "practise any heathenship either by sacrifice, or by *firhte*, or in any way love witchcraft or worship idols." So also the laws of King Canute forbade all heathenism, and defined what it was:—"Heathenism is that men worship idols; that is, that they worship heathen gods, and the sun or the moon, fire or *rivers, water-wells* or stones, or forest trees of any kind, or love witchcraft, or promote *morth-work* in any wise; or by *blot*, or by *fyrht*; or perform anything pertaining to such illusions." The continuous or temporary existence of a belief, true or false, once formed and approved, is a subject which has perhaps hardly received due attention.

It may be a nice question of chronology as to which of two brains, both friendly to mine, the solution of the meaning of the last syllable of Coventina, in which solution the three brains agree, was primarily presented. No searching and earnest enquirer is indisposed to waive his original ideas, or attempts to adhere tenaciously and untruly to them. It is interesting, but not astonishing; to know that Mr. Roach Smith, our veteran Roman antiquary (who, as we were, was rather startled with Tyne-born Coventina) had, before he read my paper developing Mr. Clephan's view as to the third syllable, and my own as to the two previous syllables of the name, himself suggested in the part (now in the press) of his valuable "Collectanea Antiqua" that the final syllable referred to the appellation which has long been that of the Tyne in its two fair branches, and of the noble joint stream. Premising that I have received his kind communication of what rough proof of his struck-off sheets had remained with him while my postscript II. was lying elsewhere in uncorrected type, I think it best to determine, whatever it or my paper may contain, to leave in their present plight all suggestive questions of detail, about which antiquaries may agree to differ, while their respective minds are quietly disposing of them in attempting to bring their general conclusions to a tolerably perfect bearing.

“Never wait to ask if you may print letters of mine.”

P.S. III.

“STROOD, *January 13th*, 1879.

“MY DEAR SIR,—I am obliged by your kindly sending me your paper, which, of course, you will print in the “*Archæologia Æliana*.” It is full of sound reasoning. *You* will not be disgusted to find that I have printed (Vol. VII., C.A.) very briefly my notions of the etymology of Coventina, in which I make the *TINA* of Ptolemy the very basis of my argument, as *years ago*, I did with “*Tunno-celum*.” The *con-vent* I have said and take to be equivalent with *con-fluo*, a coming or flowing together. I gave up the foreign *Con-venæ* (much the same thing) on account of the *tina*, which I believe to be something more than a common feminine ending like that in *Faustina*. I am sorry I did not know there was another of the same opinion as myself. I was glad with the chance of placing upon record the fact that you, I, and Mr. Blair walked together from Chesters to Procolitia. I shall be pleased if you find anything of interest in the impressions of the seals I send with this.—Believe me, yours very truly,

C. ROACH SMITH.”

“Next these came Tyne, along whose stony banke
 That Romane Monarch built a brazen wall,
 Which mote the feebled Britons strongly flanke
 Against the Picts, that swarmed ouer all,
 Which yet thereof Gualsener they doe call :
 And Twede the limit betwixt Logris land
 And Albany : and Eden though but small,
 Yet often stand with bloud of many a band
 Of Scots and English both, that tyued on his strand.”

—SPENSER.

THE MANUFACTURE OF GLASS IN ENGLAND. RISE OF THE ART ON THE TYNE.*

BY JAMES CLEPHAN.

WHEN and by whom glass was first made in the world, there is no knowing; although dates have been determined, and legends related, from generation to generation. What is certain is that it was manufactured in the land of "the dark continent" four thousand years ago. Before the British Isles were known to the Egyptians, those ingenious people were familiar with the art in a high style of development; and what tongue shall proclaim the benefits it has bestowed on mankind! The Romans carried it to a pitch of great perfection, and brought evidences of their skill—perhaps, also, the manufacture itself—to our own island. Westward the art travelled into Gaul, whose workmen were welcomed into Britain, on the banks of the Wear, two or three centuries after the departure of the Romans. In his *Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*, as translated by Giles, Bede informs us that the pious servant of Christ, Benedict Biscop, with the assistance of the Divine Grace, built a monastery in honour of the most holy of the Apostles, St. Peter, near the mouth of the river Wear, on the north side. Returning from his third visit to Rome he repaired to the Court of his friend Conwalh, King of the West Saxons; but this monarch suddenly dying (in 672), he thereupon directed his steps to his native province, and came to the Court of Egfrid, King of Northum-

* An article on "Window Glass" was written for the *Newcastle Chronicle* in 1864. In 1877 it was reprinted by Mr. Sydney Grazebrook, F.R.H.S., in his instructive and most interesting book, entitled "Collections for a Genealogy of the Noble Families of Henzey, Tyttery, and Tyzack (De Hennezel, De Thiétry, and Du Thisac). *Gentilshommes Verriers*, from Lorraine." It is now recast, and appears, in its second edition, in the *Archæologia*.

berland. * * * He found such favour in the eyes of Egfrid, that he forthwith gave him seventy hides of land out of his own estate, and ordered a monastery to be built for the first pastor of his church. "This was done," adds Bede, "as I said before, at the mouth of the river Wear, on the left bank, in the 674th year of Our Lord's incarnation, in the second indiction, and in the fourth year of Egfrid's reign. After the interval of a year, Benedict crossed the sea into Gaul, and no sooner asked than he obtained and carried back with him some masons, to build him a church in the Roman style, which he had always admired. So much zeal did he show from his love of St. Peter, in whose honour he was building it, that within a year from the time of laying the foundation stone, you might have seen the roof on, and the solemnity of the mass celebrated therein."

The moderns are apt to plume themselves on their celerity as compared with the ancients, yet swiftly went the work forward on the Wear; and "when it was drawing to completion, Benedict sent messengers to Gaul, to fetch makers of glass (more properly artificers), who were at this time unknown in Britain, that they might glaze the windows of the church, with the cloisters and dining rooms."

These words of the venerable historian are quoted in full, because many who refer to him name 674 as the year which he assigns to the introduction of window glass; and the reader, with the text before him, may judge whether 674 be not simply the date of Egfrid's gift, and 676 may not more correctly be accepted as the time when the Continental "makers of glass," parenthetically described by Bede as "more properly artificers," were practising their art in Monkwearmouth.

Were these strangers, let us ask, whom the enterprising ecclesiastic brought over to the Wear, the first workmen who, as is commonly understood, glazed windows for the natives of Britain? or was the famous Wilfrid beforehand with his contemporary and friend Benedict? Archbishop Theodorus, enthroned at Canterbury on the 27th of February, 669, restored Wilfrid to York as one of his first measures; and, says Dean Hook, "Wilfrid immediately proceeded to act with characteristic munificence. He found his cathedral dilapidated; and he restored it. The thatched roof he covered with lead; the windows, hitherto open to the weather, he filled with glass; and such glass, says

Eddius, as permitted the sun to shine through." Wilfrid, enthroned in or about 669, was deposed in 678; so that it is hard to say, positively, whether York or Wearmouth took precedence as to glass windows; but the evidence seems rather to turn in favour of York. Moreover, an inference might be founded on the words of Eddius, that dull glass—glass refusing to allow the sunshine to make its way through—was not unfamiliar to the eyes of our forerunners.

There was also, contemporary with the ecclesiastic of York, another Wilfrid, who held the see of Worcester; and he too, in an age when window glass was first coming into use in our Saxon churches, joined in the movement. "Wilfrid, Bishop of Worcester," says *Notes and Queries*, "about the same time took similar steps for substituting glass in lieu of the heavy shutters which were then in use; and great astonishment was excited, and superstitious agency suspected, when the moon and stars were seen through a material which excluded the inclemency of the weather."

But at Wearmouth, in 676, glass was not merely used: it was also (may we not infer?) manufactured. The "makers of glass" who came over from Gaul, "not only finished the work required, but," as Bede is careful to inform us, "taught the English nation their handicraft, which was well adapted for enclosing the lanterns of the church, and for the vessels required for various uses." He also significantly remarks, as to these glass-makers, that "they were at this time unknown in Britain." Is it a legitimate conclusion that before his death in 735 they had become familiar?

Be this as it may—whether the manufacture of glass was established on the coast of Northumbria or not—no such art seems to have been exercised in its then perfection in Britain at the time of the Norman Conquest, nor for some centuries afterwards. It probably was foreign glass that Robert de Lindesay, the chosen Abbot of Peterborough in 1214, used in beautifying thirty of the windows of his monastery, previously stuffed with straw to keep out the wind and the rain; and for some generations later, the domestic windows of England were not furnished with glass, but lattice. When glass windows were first introduced into houses, they were not fixtures, as at present, but were regarded as moveable chattels. In the 21st of Henry VII. (1504-5), it was held that the framework of windows belonged to the heir, but that the

glass-work they enclosed was the property of the executors, and might be removed; and in 1590, Robert Birkes, an alderman of Doncaster, bequeathing his dwelling-house to his wife for her life, left his son the glass windows. But in 1599, as Lord Coke makes a note, it was in the Common Pleas adjudged that glass annexed to window-frames by nails, or in any other manner, could not be removed; for without glass it was no perfect house. (*Notes and Queries*, Series Four, iv., 99.)

Windows were becoming as common as doors, and glass a branch of English manufacture, prior to the date sometimes assigned to the establishment of glass-works on the Tyne. Let us hear what our local historians have to say on this subject. The first of them, William Grey, published his little *Chorographia* of 34 pages in 1649, not half-a-century away from the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and when the early glass-makers of the Tyne, if all of them were gone, were many of them still familiar to living memory. Yet, much as he might have told us, he has nothing to say about them. He barely mentions "the Glasse Houses, where plaine glasse for windows are made, which serves most part of the kingdom."

Henry Bourne, whose small folio was issued in 1736, is more communicative. "Sometime," says he, "in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, came over to England from Lorraine the Henzels, Tyzacks, and Tytories. The reason of their coming hither"—between the years 1558 and 1603, says Richardson in his "Table Book:" about 1590, says Broekie in his "Folks of Shields"—"was the persecution of the Protestants in their own country, of whose persuasion they were. They were by occupation glass-makers. At their first coming to Newcastle they wrought in their trade at the Close Gate. After that they removed into Staffordshire; from whence they removed again, and settled at the river-side, at the place called, from their abiding in it, the Glass Houses. Deservedly, therefore, have so many of these families been named Peregrine, from the Latin word *Peregrinus*, which signifies a pilgrim or a stranger."

Peregrine was a Christian name among the Henzells, and also among the Tyzacks. In the month of August, 1765, as may be read in the local newspapers, Miss Tyzack, daughter of Peregrine Tyzack, merchant, Newcastle, was married, in the meeting-house of the Society of Friends at Shields to Henry Rawlingson, an eminent West India merchant in Lancaster.

Peregrine Henzell and Jonathan Tyzack appear in Bourne's History as subscribers to All Saints' charity-school at its foundation in 1709; and Tyzack left a legacy to the school at his death. Peregrine Henzell was also a subscriber to Bourne's posthumous volume; and it may safely be assumed that the worthy curate of All Saints' had his information concerning the introduction of the glass-manufacture on the Tyne from the two families of Tyzack and Henzell, with whom he would be in familiar parochial intercourse, and whose descendants, it may be observed, remain on the river to this day.

Mr. Sidney Grazebrook—of whose volume, so well worthy of perusal and consideration, there is a copy in the library of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle—has these words on his first page:—"Sometime in the sixteenth century, when the religious persecutions were raging in France and the Low Countries, and the defenceless members of the reformed religion were being daily outraged and assassinated—persecutions which culminated in the awful massacre of St. Bartholomew—three noble Huguenots, natives of Lorraine, named respectively De Hennezel, De Thiétry, and Du Thisac (Anglicized Henzell or Henzey, Tyttery, and Tyzack), all glass-makers, left their native land, and with their wives and families settled in this country. They came first, it is said, to London and Woolwich; but, meeting with no encouragement there, removed, some to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and some to the neighbourhood of Stourbridge, on the borders of Worcestershire and Staffordshire."

There is much more of Mr. Grazebrook's that claims quotation, but the pen must restrain itself to one more passage (page 10):—"Notwithstanding what Bourne and others say, I do not think there is any proof that glass-works existed, either in the neighbourhood of Stourbridge or on the banks of the Tyne, before the year 1615, or thereabouts, when a patent was granted to Sir Robert Mansell, Knt., Vice-Admiral of England, by James I. And as Sir Robert possessed the exclusive right of making glass in England, we are forced to the conclusion that 'the foreigners' were in his employ, or licensed by him. Certain it is that in 1617 he had in his employ at Newcastle a person named Edward Henzey; for in the parish registers of All Saints' in that town, which commence in 1600, is the following entry:—"February 11 (1617-18), Edward Henzey, servant to Sir

Robert Mansfield (*sic*), was buried.' The same registers record, on April 15, 1610, the burial of 'Anne, the daughter of William Tizzioek, mariner,' perhaps a seaman under Sir Robert. And at St. Nicholas' church, in the same town, was baptized, on November 22, 1619, 'John, son of Tymothie Teswicke, glasse-maker, a Frenchman.' His sureties were 'Henry Anderson, merchant, Abram Teswick, and Mrs. Barbary Milborn, wife to Mr. Milborn.'

Bourne's History of Newcastle was followed in 1789 by that of John Brand, who states that glass first began to be made in England in 1557, the finer sorts at Crutched Friars in London. In his account of "Glass Works on the River Tyne," Brand says:—"We may venture to fix the beginning about A.D. 1619, when they were established by Sir Robert Mansell, Knt., Vice-Admiral of England. The cheapness of sea-coal was no doubt his chief inducement for erecting them at so great a distance from London."

Sixty years later than this date—(that is, on the 21st of September, 1679)—there was an order of the Common Council of Newcastle to grant a lease to Jacob Henzey, William Tizacke, and Daniel Tittery, of the western glass-houses, to commence at Michaelmas (September 29) following; the glaziers of Newcastle to have the glass at a certain rate, and also the burgesses for their private use. There was at this time an Incorporated Company of Glaziers in Newcastle, anciently consisting of goldsmiths, plumbers, pewterers, and painters. The date of their ordinary was September 1, 1535; and they were bound to take no Scotsman born as an apprentice, nor to allow any Scotsman to work in Newcastle, on pain of a fine of 3s. 4d., one-half of which was to go to the maintenance of Tyne Bridge.

When Mr. Brand's invaluable quartoes were issued, the Henzells and the Tyzacks were still together, employed in the manufacture of glass on the Tyne. "Indeed," he remarks, "they will admit none of any other name to work with them. The Titorys are extinct."

Whatever may be the date of the manufacture of glass on the Tyne, it began at an earlier time than 1557 in England, the year named by our local historian in 1789. Says Fuller in his Worthies:—"Though coarse glass-making was in Sussex of great antiquity, yet 'the first making of Venice glasses in England began at the Crutched Friars in London about the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, by

one Jacob Venaline, an Italian.'” (Stow’s Chronicle.) “Glass,” observes Mr. Roberts in his *Social History of the Southern Counties* (1856), “owing to the quantity of charcoal easily to be procured in Sussex, was manufactured at Chiddingfold in the reign of Henry VIII. In 1557 a poet writes :—

“As for glass-makers they be scant in this land;
Yet one there is, as I do understand;
And in Sussex now is his habitation,
At Chiddingfold he works of his occupation.”

Glass-makers were scant, but they were not absent. England had had them even before Tudor days. Window-glazing had not, for many generations prior to Elizabeth, been left altogether dependent in England on supplies of glass from abroad. The glazier who was contracting for window work in York Minster in 1338, was one of an order of craftsmen becoming common in England; and in the next century it is certain they were not limited to foreign glass when supplying their customers. The executors of Isabel Countess of Warwick (who made her will in 1439), preparing to rear her husband’s monument, employed various artists and artificers in the construction and decoration of the tomb and chapel. John Prudde of Westminster, Master Glazier of Henry VI., appears (says Walpole) to have painted the windows; and it was particularly stipulated “that he should employ no glass of England, but with glass of beyond the sea, and that in the finest wise, with the best, cleanest, and strongest glass of beyond the sea that may be had in England, and of the finest colour of blew, yellow, red, purple, sanguine, and violet,” etc.

There was, therefore, both “glass of England,” and foreign, to be had in the English market in the reign of Henry VI. The foreign was the better, and had the preference; but home-made went on increasing and improving under the Tudors, and had royal encouragement. In the reign of Edward VI. glazing was widespread, though not general, even in churches. The historian of the Church Bells of Leicestershire and Northamptonshire, Mr. Thomas North, F.S.A., has an incident appropriate for quotation in his illustrated volume of 1878. In 1552, Longthorpe, North Hants, had “an olde crackyd bell;” and the chapel, altogether, was out of sorts. A memorandum made at the

period mentions "ij. olde albes and ij. latten candlesticks" as being in existence "at the last inventory," but "sith that tyme stolne, by reason the chapele windoes were vnglasyd;" and "a broken hand bell" had been sold "towade the glasing of the windoes." The broken bell must go to make secure future albes and candlesticks; and with such thrift were old church windows glazed. The question may possibly be raised whether Longthorpe Chapel had been sheltered with glass before, and was simply allowed to fall into disrepair; but in the days of the "crackyd bell," glass was still struggling into common use. In the reign of Elizabeth there is a letter of Armigill Waade to Sir William Cecil, written from Belsize on the 7th of April, 1565, and making report of the progress of the manufacture of glass and earthenware under Cornelius Lannoy; "a professed alchemist," says Mr. Grazebrook, "and apparently a great impostor." He notes the clumsiness of the English glass-makers, who had not yet become experts. Two years later the Queen was entering into an agreement with Anthony Becqu, otherwise Dolin (a name to become famous in our day as Dolland), and with John Quarre, afterwards called Carye and Carr. These were natives of the Low Countries, who undertook the making of window glass, such as was manufactured in France and Lorraine, and were willing to pay a duty to the Crown; at the same time asking permission to cut wood and make charcoal in Windsor Forest for their glass-works. They procured a lease, but, apparently, did not prosper in their enterprise. The assigns and deputies subsequently occur as complaining of the importation of foreign glass, and obtaining a prohibition of imports, covenanting in return to teach the art to "a convenient number of Englishmen."

Our antiquarian friend and townsman, Mr. G. B. Richardson, who some years ago went from England to Australia, was in 1853 directing the attention of his fellow-members to the early history of glass-making. He laid before them an agreement entered into in 1568, to which Thomas and Balthazar de Hennezes, dwelling at the glass-houses in the Vosges in Lorraine, and John Chevalier, Chastelain and Receyvour of Fontenoy le Chastell, were parties; Chevalier, as well in his own name as in that of John Quarre of Antwerp, then dwelling in London, guaranteeing the execution of the engagement. Quarre having obtained for himself and Chevalier the royal license to build and

manufacture, Thomas and Balthazar de Hennezes were to come over to this country to make "great glass," with four gentlemen glaziers (*gentilshommes verriers*); the surplus profits to be equally divided, one-half to the De Hennezes, the other to Quarre, Chevalier, and the fellowship.

Mr. Richardson, when he had concluded the reading of the full agreement, also laid before the Society of Antiquaries a communication of 1589, made to Cecil, now Lord Burleigh, by George Longe, setting forth that in the time of the beginning of the troubles in France and the Low Countries, so that glass could not conveniently be brought from Lorraine into England, certain glass-makers covenanted with Anthony Dollyne and John Carye to come over; whereupon they obtained the patent of Queen Elizabeth. Having themselves no knowledge of the art, they leased out their license to the Frenchmen, who would afterwards teach no Englishman, nor pay one penny of custom. Carye being dead, Dollyne took sixpence on a case of glass. For non-performance of covenants, their patent being void, about six years after the grant (continued Longe) they set glass-houses on foot in sundry parts of the realm; "and having spent the woods in one place, doe dayly so continue, erecting newe workes in another place, without checke or controule." Some six years ago, his lordship called upon those who kept glass-houses to know who should pay the Queen's custom; and the answer generally was, that there was none due, no one enjoying any special privilege. Thus had Her Majesty been deceived, and still would be, without reformation. The petitioner, therefore, desired his lordship to grant him the like patent; not that he might continue the making of glass, but that he might repress the abuse. And whereas there were now fifteen glass-houses in England, he suggested there should be no more than two, the rest in Ireland. The woods in England would thereupon be preserved, and the superfluous woods in Ireland wasted, "than which in tyme of rebellion Her Majestie hath no greater enemy theare. The country wilbe much strengthened; for every glass-house wilbe so good as twenty men in garrison. The country wilbe sooner brought to civilitye; for many poore folke shalbe sett on worke. And wheras Her Majestie hath now no peny proffitt, a double custome must of necessity be paid. Glass be transported from Ireland to England." In conclusion, "George

Longe, your honor's poore orator" (petitioner), prays Burleigh to be gracious to him, and promises, not only to guarantee the performance of all things concerning the patent, but will "repaire his lordship's buildings from tyme to tyme with the best glasse," and "allso bestowe one hundred angells" at Burleigh's appointment.

The members, says the *Gateshead Observer* (whose report is reprinted by Mr. Grazebrook), were much amused with the "poor orator's" citation of "one hundred angells" to intercede for him; and Mr. Richardson, resuming his paper, speculated upon the whereabouts of the "fifteen glass-houses," and was constrained to confess that "we have only the slenderest circumstantial evidence to induce a belief that the manufacture of glass was established on the Tyne before the coming of James," but leaned to the reception of Bourne's averment that the Henzells, Tyzacks, and Tytories, Protestants from Lorraine, established glass works on the Tyne at Newcastle in the reign of Elizabeth. "The evidence which he adduced was ingenious and interesting."

At a subsequent meeting of the Society, held on the 7th of December, 1853, Mr. Richardson read a letter he had received from Mr. Henry Pidcock, of Woodfield, near Droitwich, "which was considered as confirming, in some degree, the tradition of Bourne relating to the emigration of the Hennezes or Henzeys to the midland counties."

One word as to the "fifteen glass-houses" referred to by George Longe. Paul Hentzner of Brandenburgh, who was in England in August and September, 1598, makes a note saying "glass-houses are plenty here;" thus confirming the evidence of the multiplication of glass manufacturers in the time of Elizabeth. The fact is also borne out by the cry that was raised against them, lest they should make wood-fuel scarce and dear. An alarm had gone abroad on behalf of the forests of England, and measures were taken for their protection. Restrictions were even made on the industrial pursuits of Ireland, in the interests of the navy; for "if some reservation be not made in time, all the timbers will be suddenly consumed, especially in Munster and other parts near the sea." Among the common people, however, another notion was entertained. The "use of coal for smelting iron" was considered contrary to the course of nature, and it was opposed by violence. "Wood was intended, they said, to smelt the metallic

ores." (Roberts's Social History.) But in the present day, when we have navies of iron, millions of tons of coal are annually consumed in works whose demands are only to be satisfied by the mine.

That fear about exhaustion, which has in modern times haunted the coal-field, troubled the woods in the reign of King James; and his laureate, Michael Drayton, gave forcible expression, in 1613, to the uneasiness with which his countrymen saw the swart workman making fuel of the forest with increasing consumption. The furnace had risen up where the tree flourished. Timber fell a sacrifice to its glowing fires; and the groves of Sussex were made to lament in the nervous verse of the *Polyolbion*:—

"These iron times breed none that mind posterity.
'Tis but in vain to tell what we before have been,
Or changes of the world that we in time have seen;
When, not devising how to spend our wealth with waste,
We to the savage swine let fall our larding mast.
But now, alas! ourselves we have not to sustain,
Nor can our tops suffice to shield our roots from rain.
Jove's oak, the warlike ash, veined elm, the softer beech,
Short hazel, maple plain, light aspe, the bending wych,
Tough holly, and smooth birch, must all together burn,
What should the builder serve, supplies the forger's turn;
When under public good base private gain takes hold,
And we poor woeful woods, to ruin lastly sold."

Waltham Forest, taking up the song, bestows an admonition on Hatfield. "Wisely thus reproveth" the one forest the other:—

"Dear Sister, rest content, nor our declining rue:
What thing is in the world (that we can say) is new?
The ridge and furrow shows that once the crooked plow
Turned up the grassy turf where oaks are rooted now;
And at this hour we see the share and coulter tear
The full corn-bearing glebe where sometimes forests were;
And those but caitiffs are which most do seek our spoil,
Who, having sold our woods, do lastly sell our soil."

Sore was the disquietude with which Englishmen had come to look upon the progress of manufactures and the decay of forests. Wits were sharpened by the crisis; and in 1611 we hear of "a newly-invented process of making glass with sea coal." In 1615 the making

of it with wood was prohibited by proclamation, and also the importation of foreign glass. And now we are brought back to Sir Robert Mansell, Treasurer of the Navy under King James. A grant was made to the Earl of Montgomery, Sir Thomas Howard, Sir Robert Mansell, Sir Edward Zouch, and others, of all glass-ware forfeited for being imported contrary to order. Near the end of 1618, when Sir Robert, at that time sole manufacturer, by royal patent, of glass in England, had been appointed Vice-Admiral, and sold his office of Naval Treasurer to Sir William Russell, he was applying to the Privy Council for power to put down all glass-makers who invaded his monopoly; otherwise (he said) he could not pay his annual rent of £1,000 to the King, and the £1,800 guaranteed to the patentees who had resigned in his favour. Mansell possessed the exclusive right to make glass in England; and in 1620 the monopolist had two persons in prison who had imported glass into the country to his prejudice. He would not even allow his countrymen the free run of his own glass works, to purchase at which they pleased. "Hobson's choice" was Sir Robert's rule; and consumers chafed under the restraint.

Ralph Colbourne, a maker of hour-glasses, applied to the Duke of Lennox and others, who were Commissioners for Glass, to be relieved from the oppression of Mansell. Mansell constrained him to buy his glasses in London, which (he said) were bad and high-priced; and it was ordered that his reasonable request to have the privilege of purchasing at any of the glass-houses of the patentee be granted.

There was also, about the same time, a petition of certain glaziers, who described Sir Robert's glass as scarce, bad, and brittle; to which imputations he replied, in a letter to the Privy Council, that the scarcity was no fault of his, (but the fault, he probably meant, of the speculators who bought up his glass); that he had gone to great expense to improve the quality; and that the high price was caused by a rise in the cost of coals, etc.; and still (he said) it was lower than before his patent. The Council stood by Mansell. In vain was it prayed that all Englishmen should be permitted to manufacture glass who chose; the monopoly was continued in the hands of the Vice-Admiral, to whom our historian Brand ascribes the first establishment of glass works on the Tyne about the year 1619.

In the year 1623 (May 22), there was granted to Mansell and his

assigns, for fifteen years to come, a special privilege of the sole making of glass within England and Wales, with sea coal, pit coal, or any other fuel, not being timber or wood, without payment of rent, but with freedom of importation to others. It was set forth in the grant that under former letters patent there was a reservation to the King of £1,000 a-year, which was now remitted in consideration of the petitioner's good services, and of his charge and expense in effecting the work. All importation, however, of foreign glass, which had been prohibited before, was now to be free.

In 1624, one Isaac Bungard petitioned Parliament against the exclusive privilege of manufacture. He had been accused to the Commissioners, in April, 1621, by the Company of Glaziers, of endeavouring, with others, to engross the whole trade in glass, so as to have the prices at his own command; and in June of the same year he prayed the Privy Council to throw open the manufacture. In 1624, when the Admiral had obtained a renewal of his monopoly, he appealed to the House of Commons against the patent; whereupon Sir Robert stated his case in reply, and we are thus enabled to gather a few facts of his progress in glass-making, valuable as history. Glass (he said) was formerly made with wood, to the great consumption of timber; and a patent having been granted for the substitution of sea coal, he bought the patent; and after erecting works in London, the Isle of Purbeck, Milford Haven, and on the Trent, which failed, he was successful in establishing the manufacture at Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Bungard endeavoured to ruin his works by corrupting his clay; by enticing away his workmen, so that he was obliged to bring over others from abroad; and by raising the price of Scotch coal. The patent, he added, was complained of as a grievance in the last Parliament, but was continued down to Sir Robert's return from sea-service; when he, suing for a new patent, obtained it by recommendation of Council; and he now requested Parliament to ratify it, as being a great saving of wood, giving employment to shipping in transport of materials and glass, employing four thousand natives in the manufacture, and providing the article better and cheaper than before. To all which it was responded, in a petition to Parliament, that the invention was practised by others before the patentees, and that it enhanced the price of glass to the consumers.

Parliament had little disposition to take part with Sir Robert Mansell. But from the Calendar of State Papers, which has lent considerable assistance in the preparation of these pages, it is manifest that he had a tower of strength in another quarter. The Privy Council, to whom, on the 6th of December, 1626, King Charles referred the complaints of one Bringer [Bungard ?] on the glass patent, directed that the same should stand. They thought it of dangerous consequence, and far trenching on the Prerogative, that patents, granted on just grounds, and of long continuance, should be referred to the strict trial of the Common Law; wherefore they ordered that all proceedings at law be stayed, and that "Bringer" do not presume further to trouble His Majesty on pain of punishment. Thus summarily was the complainant dismissed, and Mansell established in his monopoly.

We have now entered the reign of Charles I. Let us pause for a moment on its threshold, and, before going further, look back on the action of Parliament, in this matter of glass, during the days of James. The "Journals" do not help us much, but they show the Commons to have been disquieted by the patent. There was a report on "the monopoly for glass, etc.," in 1614; and also a debate. Scantly are the speeches of honourable members handed down to us—little more than fragmentary notes or jottings. One of the speakers is Mr. Fuller. His mind was much exercised by the question; and, musing on the monopoly, he drops a few troubled words:—"Now to glass; after, to iron; after, to all other trades." Mr. Duncombe falls back on first principles:—"Free trade every man's inheritance by birthright." Soon the odour of the Indian weed steals fragrant through the House. "Many of the divines (remarks a senator) smoke tobacco, by which it appeareth"—(the reasoning is somewhat cloudy)—"they seek where the best." The laity also indulge. Even "poor men spend fourpence of their day's wage in smoke." And easily might this extravagance be committed, if they smoked at all; for it was in this year 1614 that the Star Chamber appointed the duty on tobacco to be 6s. 10d. a pound! But neither excess of Excise, nor "Counterblast" of King, could put out the pipe.

The patent for glass had its friends in Parliament as well as its foes. Its advantages were pleaded no less than its drawbacks. Its opponents, however, were not convinced by the arguments adduced. Looking hard at the monopolists, they muttered:—"All their pretences,

public good: all their end, private gain." Such was the ground taken, on the side of free trade, in 1614; and, finally, the patent was ordered to be brought in. This was done on the 6th of May, when it was delivered under protest, and we hear no more of it. Probably because, next month, Parliament was dissolved. For some years it had no successor; but in May, 1621, when the House of Commons was again in session, we have Sir Edward Coke presenting a further report on "the patent for glass." The Parliamentary Committee submitted to honourable members, first, that "the consideration failed; for no new invention." Secondly, that "the new invention was only of making furnaces." There was "not power thereby for the sole making of glass." The manufacture by wood was not excluded, "but only by sea coal." Thirdly, "the restriction of importation hindereth trade, shipping, merchants, etc." Fourthly, "the time of twenty years too long." Doubts were expressed whether glass was as good as before. "Inigo Jones, the surveyor, said not so good as in ancient times." Doubtful, also, whether not dearer than before. "Condemned in the last Parliament as a grievance; yet Sir Robert Mansell presently after procured this new patent. That £1,000 was reserved to the King, yet none paid. That this patent was a grievance, both in creation and execution."

Again was the question before Parliament in 1624, when there seems to have been some Monopoly Bill under consideration. The report of a Committee was brought up by Sir Edward Coke, a resolution having been adopted that the patent for glass, with all others, "be continued for their time, but not renewed." It was to run out, and then cease.

The persevering Mansell, who gave occasion for so much controversy in the country, was no petty monopolist. His patron had united two crowns, and Sir Robert extended his sway over two kingdoms. He not only had a patent for England, but for Scotland also. James had granted to Lord George Hay, in 1610, the exclusive right for thirty-one years to manufacture glass in Scotland; and in 1627 his lordship transferred his monopoly to Thomas Robinson, a merchant tailor in London, who, for £250, made a second transfer to Mansell, and thus extended his sceptre over the whole island.

Sir Robert's profession was the sea; his hobby was glass; and he is said to have "melted vast sums of money" in riding it. To King

James it was a wonder "that Robin Mansell, being a sea man, whereby he got so much honour, should fall from water to tamper with fire, which were two contrary elements." But so it was; there is no knowing what a man will burn his fingers with; and in the year 1638, the Admiral, having still no dread of the fire which had scorched him, was surrendering to the Corporation of Newcastle an unexpired lease, and taking a new one, for twenty-one years, "of certaine grounds, being the greatest part of the east ballast-shoares and the glass-houses," situated between the "Useburne on the west," and "the grounds of St. Lawrence on the east." Fourteen years afterwards, in 1652, he applied, unsuccessfully, for a further renewal; and there is mention in the books of the Corporation, April, 1653, of "new glass-houses;" four or five months after which, the Admiral's lease of life ran out. His labours, however, did not die with him. In the "Industrial Resources of the Tyne, Wear, and Tees," published in 1864, Mr. R. W. Swinburne, who contributes a paper on "The Manufacture of Glass," observes:—"In the year 1616, Admiral Sir Robert Mansell erected glass-works at Newcastle, which were carried on, without interruption, till nearly the middle of the present century, when they were closed."

Of the Huguenot glass-makers named by Bourne, so intimately associated with the Admiral, several particulars appear in the foot-notes of Brand; and although he fixes the introduction of glass-works on the Tyne no earlier than 1619, his extracts from our parish registers would seem to indicate that he might have "ventured" to go a little higher. "John Teswicke, sonne of Tymothie Teswicke, glasse-maker, a Frenchman," was baptised at St. Nicholas', November 22, 1619, and had for one of his godfathers "Abraham Teswick." "Isaack Hensey, glass-maker," and "Jacob Hensey, glass-maker," occur in the register of All Saints' in the same year; and in 1620, "Samuel Tizick, glass-maker;" with also "David Tyttere *alias* Rusher, glass-maker." Thus, then, at the date assigned for the first introduction of glass-works on our river by Mansell, we have the Henzells, Tytorys, and Tyzacks, whose arrival is ascribed by Bourne to the reign of Elizabeth, settled in Newcastle as glass-makers, and an infant of the immigrants appearing at the font. What are we to conclude from the facts comprised in this paper? Are we to accept the version of Bourne, who dwelt among the descendants of the refugees? or shall we assume that the pilgrims and strangers who were here in 1619 were but the workmen

brought to the Tyne by the enterprising Admiral? The question has its difficulties; yet the circumstances may justify at least a diffident inclination, with Mr. Richardson, to the former conclusion. There is ground for thinking that the Timothy Tyzack, who was buried in St. Mary's church in 1684-85 (namesake, and perhaps son, of the "glasse-maker, a Frenchman," who was having his child John baptised in St. Nicholas' in 1619), came of a colony of foreign manufacturers of glass who practised their art in Newcastle before James the Sixth of Scotland crossed the Borders for his English throne. And who can look without reverence on the noble monumental stone of this Merchant Adventurer, with its inscription and arms, deposited in the chancel of the mother-church of Gateshead, before the vestry door? The old record runs:—"Here lieth interred the body of Timothy Tizacke, Merchant Adventurer, and Elizabeth, his wife, who had issue by him seven children. Two survived them, viz., Timothy and George. She departed this life the 13th day of October, an. 1659. He departed this life the 6th day of February, 1684."

Seigneur, je te prie garde ma vie, is the devout invocation that forms the merchant's motto, and closes the sculpture of 1684-85. Surtees, the historian of the county palatine, copying the inscription, adds the following outline of the arms:—"Three acorns slipped, two billets in chief; impaling a fesse inter three lambs passant; no colours." Crest, Henzell's fire-bolt and fire-ball.

Of this man of mark, who flourished on the Tyne from the earlier years of the seventeenth century, and died on the same day with Charles the Second, history confines itself to what is written within the four corners of his tomb. If we would know somewhat more of him, we must turn to the parish register in the neighbouring vestry. There, within the space of little more than eight years, are entered the christenings of six of the seven children borne to him by his wife Elizabeth, viz. :—

- 1650. Timothie, January 30, 1649-50.
- 1651. Elizabeth, March 15, 1650-51.
- 1653. George, March 25, 1652-53.
- 1655. John, March 29.
- 1657. Henrie, June 22.
- 1658. William, May 16 (christening and burial).

The mother's death, as the sculptor records in grey marble, oc-





curred on the 13th of October, 1659; and the parochial penman makes a note in his book of her burial next day:—"Elizabeth, wife to Mr. T. Tissack, October 14." One christening of the seven—that of the first-born—may have escaped a not too rigid search; but a friend, more accustomed than myself to refer to old registers, informs me that such an omission is not uncommon, owing to the young wife returning to the mother's roof for the first birth; which would consequently be recorded in another parish.

To the foregoing entries may be added one more remembrance of the home-life of the Merchant Adventurer, whose surviving sons doubtless laid down this stone, viz., "Buried, November 12, 1657, Henrie Collingwood, servant to Mr. Timothy Tyzack."

Contemporary with Timothy Tyzack of Gateshead—(whom we conjecture to have been born into the family of the "Tymothie Teswicke, glasse-maker, a Frenchman," bearing his son for baptism to the church of St. Nicholas' in 1619)—was another of the name, now to be added to Mr. Grazebrook's Genealogical Collections. It comes to us from no parish register, but from an inscribed stone in the grounds of Mr. John Glover, of Heaton Cottage, where formerly resided Mr. Joseph Sewell, managing partner in the Broad and Crown Glass Works of Sir M. W. Ridley and Company. A generation ago, when the works were in process of extension, an old and unremembered burial-place was found, with remains of an enclosure, fragments of gravestones, and a whole stone inscribed with the Tyzack name. This memorial of the Huguenots was removed, with reverent care, to Heaton, and laid by Mr. Sewell on a grassy bank adjacent to his residence, by the side of a sycamore tree, whose growing and spreading roots have broken it in two. The inscription is but partially legible. "Time's effacing fingers have swept the lines." Enough remains, however, sufficiently clear, to show that the stone had been placed over the grave of "Abigail Tyzack, daughter of . . . Sarah Tyzack;" and that her death took place "anno 167*." The fourth figure is indistinct, but the year is apparently 1678. An atmosphere of interest—not to say of romance—surrounds this voice from the forgotten cemetery of the seventeenth century. On the pleasant banks of the Ouseburn, eloquent with memories of Sir Robert Mansell and the glass-makers of Lorraine, the "frail memorial," with its rude

“cross bones,” has found an appropriate resting-place, and, by the margin of the woodland path, “implores the passing tribute of a sigh.”

Impressively numerous are the records on the Tyne of members of the Henzell, Tytory, and Tyzack families. The parish registers of a former age abound with them. Entries of birth, marriage, and death, in All Saints', Newcastle, down to the year 1750, communicated to Mr. Grazebrook by our townsman, Mr. W. M. Henzell, occupy upwards of fifteen pages of his book. Persistently do such memorials recur as the yellow leaves of parish books are turned over in vestry. It happened to me, a few years ago, to be in search of some other name, in St. Mary's, Gateshead; and I paused in my quest to make a note of the burial of a nonogenarian:—"April 22, 1812, Jane Henzel, widow of Charles Henzel, glass-maker, aged 94." The old name and the old vocation were still together; and with this memorial of the "gentilshommes verriers" of the Vosges in Lorraine, who were coming over to England in 1568, the present paper may fitly be brought to a close.

A ROMAN BURIAL AT YORK.

BY THE REV. J. COLLINGWOOD BRUCE, LL.D.MARCH 2ND, 1876.

I HAVE been directed by the Rev. Canon Raine of York to present to the Society a photograph of the back-hair of a young Roman lady, who, judging from a coin that was lying under her coffin, and the style of the coffin itself, probably lived about the time of Constantine. The hair is of an auburn colour. After being slightly twisted, it had been laid in a circular form on the back of her head, and secured in position by two jet pins of two or three inches long. The heads of the pins are neatly ornamented. I have here a small lock of the hair, which, however, was not connected with the main mass. When first discovered the hair was darker than it now is, in consequence probably of its being in a damp condition. The hair is that of a young lady of about fifteen years of age.

It is curious how the sight of a simple and inanimate object like this brings near far distant ages, and sets vividly before us scenes long past. Though fifteen or sixteen centuries have rolled away since this young lady breathed our air, we fancy we see her in the flush of her early youth, adorning her locks, and admiring the charms with which she was endowed. It seems so strange that she and the youths who sought her society should express their merry thoughts in the words which Tacitus and Terence used; we can fancy, too, that she was not a stranger to the Celtic tongue. The slaves of her father's household were probably the inhabitants of the land. Her nurse would most likely be a native of Britain, and with her she would converse in the tongue of our Celtic forefathers. Sickness seizes her—how would her bright eyes be clouded—how would her parents' breast swell with deep anxiety. The healing truths of the gospel had been brought to our Island long before her time. Had she heard them? And before she closed her eyes in death were they brightened by the blissful apprehension of coming glory? I looked upon her empty eye-sockets, but could get no answer to my question.

Being much interested in this strange specimen of Roman humanity, I went to York the other day to see it. Canon Raine kindly accompanied me to the museum, and supplied me with much information respecting the recent discoveries in that city, which was during several centuries the stronghold of Roman power in the North of England. The results of my inquiries I shall endeavour to convey to you.

In digging the foundations for the walls of the new station at York, it was found that the site had in Roman days formed a large burial ground outside the walls of the city. Very many ancient graves were disturbed, in which were found numerous articles of great interest and beauty which had been interred with the deceased. Little children had their pretty necklaces round their bony throats, their toys were by their sides; women still wore their rings and their splendidly-carved jet armlets; numerous vessels of glass and earthenware of peculiar patterns and exquisite workmanship were enclosed in the coffins. In some of these vessels were the remains of unguents, which, on being treated with hot water, gave forth powerful and fragrant odours. As the ground was disturbed only in places where the walls of the building are being reared, it may be conceived what a mass of treasure remains behind, unseen, unmoved. The coffin of the young lady whose hair I have shown you was found under one of the walls of the new booking office. The number of interments which have from time to time been discovered at York is quite extraordinary. They amount on a rough calculation to about three thousand. Other large graveyards have been found beside the one I have been speaking of, and on the sides of some of the roads leading out of York tombs have been planted for a considerable distance on each side of them. The place must have been very populous. One extraordinary fact has come under Mr. Raine's notice during the recent excavations. It is well known that at Rome the dead bodies of slaves and of obscure persons who had no one to care for them were cast without covering into old quarries and sand pits. There they were left to decay to the great annoyance and injury of the living who occupied the neighbourhood. Horace tells us of one of these *puteoli* on the Esquiline Hill, which was acquired by Mæcenas, who turned it into a garden. Mr. Raine noticed one or two pits at York which had been filled with human bodies promiscuously thrown in. Some of the skeletons had their feet uppermost. It is humbling to think that such things should have taken place in

this land of ours, even sixteen hundred years ago. Amongst so many graves numerous skulls have been found, many of them in a perfect state. There is a noble collection of them in one of the underground chambers of the Museum. Most of them have a fine intellectual development. One of them has been pronounced by Professor Rolleston to be the finest he had ever seen. Several specimens of the fir-cone ornament have been found in the burial ground. These, as I have elsewhere endeavoured to show, are supposed to be emblematic of a resuscitated existence.

We now return to the young lady. Her remains were enclosed externally in a large stone coffin, formed of a rough sandstone, resembling millstone grit, very roughly carved, and destitute of inscription or ornament. This, as well as most of the coffins, if I remember rightly, was lying south and north. Within the stone coffin was another of lead, which contained the body. The lead of this coffin has been cast in sheets and not rolled. The lid was tightly fastened to the coffin; it had to be forced off by violence. We shall presently return to this subject. The lid of the lead coffin bore a simple ornament. It was divided into three compartments by an upright line representing a slender twig, round which was loosely twisted a fillet of ribbon. These compartments were occupied by two similar lines, crossing each other in the centre and terminating in the angles of the compartments. There was no inscription. The body seems to have been deposited in its resting place in the following manner. After being enveloped in some coarse cloth, a quantity of fluid plaster of Paris was poured into the coffin, in the midst of which, whilst still soft, the body was laid; after which the rest of the coffin was filled in with more plaster of Paris. In this particular case it seems as if the head had been made to repose upon a pillow, so that it rose above the gypsum which entirely covered the rest of the young lady's person. On opening the coffin, the jaws, the bones of the face, and the frontal bones of the skull were found to have fallen forward, and were seen resting upon the covering of gypsum; the back hair being deprived of its bony support, had also fallen down, and was resting in the place where these bones should have been. One other singular circumstance is yet to be named. The lid of the stone coffin was found to be cracked not far from its middle. Immediately under this crack, and in the lid of the leaden shell, was a round jagged hole of about

the size of your fist ; a corresponding hollow penetrated the gypsum, and the bottom of the stone coffin was cracked. What had caused these appearances? Possibly after death had done his worst by this young lady her narrow house had been stricken by the lightning's flash, or, to carry out the figure more correctly, by a thunderbolt. No other probable solution of the difficulty has been suggested. Before leaving our young lady I must mention that there is a record of hair having been found upon the head of another Roman subject found in York, but it has long been lost sight of. These, so far as I can learn, are the only known instances.

Roman antiquaries find that the instances in which the Romans used leaden cases in the burial of their dead are more numerous than was once supposed. At the present moment there are not less than twelve leaden coffins in the Museum at York, all derived from the graveyards of the city. If my memory does not deceive me, the late Mr. Denham, of Pierse Bridge, met with a leaden coffin in a Roman burying-ground near that station. In 1844 a leaden coffin was found on the site of a Roman burial place at Stratford-le-Bow. The coffin had been run in with lime. Mr. Roach Smith published an account of it in the "*Archæologia*," Vol. XXXI., p. 308. In that gentleman's "*Collectanea Antiqua*," Vol. III., is a record of the finding of many others, from which I make a few extracts. "In 1739 a leaden coffin was ploughed up near Stilton, with Roman coins and a cinerary urn. At Colchester several Roman leaden coffins have been found from time to time, consisting each of two pieces of lead. At Southfleet, in Kent, in 1801, was found a tomb of stone, covered with two very large stones. The tomb contained two leaden coffins of the most simple construction ; the bottom pieces being turned up formed the sides of each, and the top pieces being turned down at each end and a little over at the sides, formed the tops and ends of the coffins." In London several instances have occurred besides that at Stratford-le-Bow already mentioned. In 1811, one was dug up in Old Kent Road. On the lid were two figures of Minerva. In 1844, a small leaden coffin containing the remains of a child was found in Mansell Street, Whitechapel. Several foreign examples are on record. Near the village of Savigny-sous-Beaune a leaden coffin was found in 1819. Other interments of the ordinary character had taken place near it, amongst which were four

jet pins worked in facets, and twelve small brass coins of Maximinus, Constans, and Constantius II. In 1828 two leaden coffins were found at Ronen; one contained a coin of Postumus, the other, which was that of a child, contained the playthings of the deceased and four Roman coins, the effigies on which could not be determined. In 1835 one was found at Evreux; it inclosed a coin of Constantine. Others have been found near Nismes and at Amiens. Mr. Roach Smith, in a letter which I had from him the other day, says, "I could cite some fifty or sixty examples, the latest being one at Ilchester."

A question occurs to me in reference to these leaden coffins which I find it difficult to answer. What end had the Romans in view in making use of them?

We employ them in order hermetically to seal up the dead. So far as I have observed, the Roman coffins were not air tight. Some of those at York have been clumsily put together. In every case the lead has been cast, and the sheets are thick and heavy. In some cases the pieces of which the coffin is composed are nailed together. In one instance the lead has been held in position by being nailed to a strong external covering of wood, and this in turn has been strongly braced together by bars of iron. In the case of this young lady, Mr. Raine thinks the lid of the coffin was fastened on with cement. I may be wrong, but I do not think that the Romans used solder. Their leaden pipes were formed of long flat strips of metal, bent into shape and fastened at the edges. The fastening, so far as I have observed, was not effected by the intervention of easily fusible metal such as our solder. A jet of ignited hydrogen gas made to play upon the edges would partially melt them, so as to allow of their being brought into permanent union. In this way, possibly, the Roman pipes were formed. The process, however, is one which could not easily be applied to coffins. If the object had been simply to provide an imperishable ark in which to deposit the precious remains of the departed one, why not rest satisfied with a stone sarcophagus? In the instance before us, both stone and lead were used. Perhaps it was to make security doubly secure. And yet, after all, in this particular case, the effort was vain; first of all, the lightning invaded the carefully guarded precinct, and then the modern navy fairly bore the whole away. We are much obliged to the navy for the information which he has afforded us.



R E P O R T
OF
The Society of Antiquaries
OF
NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

M.DCCC.LXXVIII.

THE Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne has run its course, during the fifty-sixth year of its existence, in its ordinary quiet and useful manner. Its meetings have been held every month, without intermission, at which the subjects of antiquarian interest occurring in the district have been discussed. No grand discovery has been made during the year like that of the Well of Coventina, at Procolitia, which was referred to in the last report, but several important additions have been made to our knowledge by the spade of the excavator. The excavations at Binchester have been watched with interest, and the explorations of Newminster Abbey have been reported upon from time to time. The splendid monumental stones of the Roman era, which have been disinterred at South Shields and at Carlisle, have furnished much interesting subject of discussion. Mr. Blair has occasionally exhibited the intaglios and other works of art which still continue to be found at the Lawe, South Shields; and, at the October meeting, Mr. Robinson exhibited an important collection of stone implements formed by him during a recent tour in the United States.

At the meeting in March last, Messrs. Greenwell, Robinson, and Blair were appointed a committee to re-arrange the Society's coins. This work they have in part accomplished, and have, in addition, paid

some attention to the miscellaneous collection of antiquities, especially the Ancient British, in possession of the Society, attaching to them labels indicating the localities where they were found.

It is some years since a catalogue was prepared of the Roman inscribed and sculptured stones in the museum. It is exceedingly desirable that the catalogue of the Society's possessions were extended, so as to include the Ancient British urns and stone and bronze implements, as well as the Saxon remains and mediæval objects. Perhaps the committee already named would undertake the important and interesting but somewhat laborious task.

The attention of the Society was called at its last annual meeting to the state of the fund provided for the building of a new museum. The Council have now to report that Mr. Dees and Mr. Dodd have been added to the surviving trustees of the fund, and that the money has been invested in government stock to the amount of £879 10s.; the interest of which, as the dividends become due, will be duly added to the capital in future.

It may be that the time is not far off when the money will be wanted for the purpose for which it was originally subscribed. It is perhaps not Utopian to suppose that a grand building, befitting the important town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, may yet be reared which shall contain a gallery of statuary and pictures, an antiquarian museum, a museum of such objects of interest as may from time to time be brought to it from all parts of the world by the shipping frequenting our port, a library of general reference, and perhaps also a school of art.

According to previous arrangements several members of the Society took an excursion to Chesters on the 27th of June last. The newly-excavated turret on the Wall, at Brunten, was examined; the forum in the station of Cilurnum was surveyed with care; and the Well of Coventina, at Procolitia, and the objects which had been found in it, were carefully scrutinized. The party were kindly entertained at luncheon by the hospitable owner of Chesters.

Should the Society think fit to take an excursion this year, Bishop Auckland might be suggested as a fitting place to be visited, the excavations which are being conducted in the neighbouring station of Binchester, by Mr. Proud, being well worthy of attention.

On the 1st October last the Society held a special meeting, at which a memorial was unanimously adopted for presentation to the Corporation of Newcastle, praying for "the preservation of the evidences of the history of Newcastle, and especially the ancient Carliol Tower and the other remaining towers and relics of the Wall." This memorial, which was in due course presented, was not in the first instance successful, but there is reason to hope that the object for which it was drawn up may yet be obtained, and one of the ancient landmarks of the town preserved. But even should the Carliol Tower be removed, and the work of our forefathers be for ever destroyed, the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne may be congratulated that it has not existed in vain. A few years ago, this tower, had it pleased the authorities, would have been removed, as other more important structures have been, without remonstrance; but, through the influence of this Society and other agencies, the community has been so thoroughly instructed in the real value attaching to those memorials of the past, which teach us more impressively and more vividly than the lettered page can do, the struggles, the triumphs, the modes of thought and feeling of our forefathers, that as soon as it was known that this tower was threatened with destruction an amount of feeling and energetic action on the part of the community was educed which could not have been anticipated, and which bodes well for the future.

On another subject the Society may perhaps be congratulated. Twenty years ago its noble Patron, the fourth Duke of Northumberland, suggested that an effort should be made to collect and preserve the melodies and ballads of the border land, which were fast falling into oblivion. A Melodies Committee was formed, of which the late Mr. Kell and the late Mr. White were conspicuous members. Their labours are now bearing fruit, for considerable attention has of late been paid to the simple but stirring and peculiar music of the ancient inhabitants of Northumbria; and one of the newspapers of the district, the "Newcastle Courant," has begun to publish a well-edited series of the airs which from time immemorial have lived in the memories and imaginations of successive generations, but which have not as yet assumed a visible shape. Should the effort be encouraged as it ought to be, the musical genius of our ancestry will be preserved in a permanent form.

The first part of a new volume of the "*Archæologia Æliana*" now lies upon the table. It contains several papers of great importance, more than one of which have been educed by the important discoveries recently made at Procolitia. The whole of the woodcuts and plates, illustrative of Mr. Clayton's papers upon "*Coventina*," have been contributed by that gentleman.

Should the lapidarian discoveries of the North of England go on at the rate which they have done since the completion of the "*Lapidarium Septentrionale*" in 1875, the time may not be far distant when it would be well to undertake a new edition of that work, or an Appendix to it.

Several important additions to the Library have been made by purchase during the year, and, as in former years, some very valuable books have been presented to the Society by Sir Walter C. Trevelyan, Bart., one of your Vice-Presidents.

Not long after our last anniversary meeting our noble President was gathered to his fathers. The late Earl of Ravensworth was a ripe scholar, especially excelling in a knowledge of Greek and Latin classics. He had a keen appreciation of the fine arts, and was a lover of archæological research. He was ever ready to lend his aid to this Society, and was an occasional contributor to its publications. He frequently took the chair at its annual meetings, and always presided with grace and dignity. The important duty of electing a successor to his Lordship devolves upon the Society to day.

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January 27th, 1879.

*Examined and found correct, after comparing
vouchers with statements.*

JOHN PHILIPSON.
SHERITON HOLME.



SOME REMARKS ON MITHRAIC WORSHIP IN THE WESTERN WORLD.

BY THE REV. SAMUEL BEAL, B.A., RECTOR OF FALSTONE, NORTH
TYNE, PROFESSOR OF CHINESE IN UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.
READ JANUARY 29TH, 1879.

THE worship of Mithras, so interesting on many accounts to the student of religion, originated amongst the primitive Aryan people, as yet not divided into the nations which afterwards peopled India, Persia, and Europe.

The Persian Mithras and the Sanscrit Mitra are identical; and although we do not meet with any early mention of Mithras in Greece, still we find the primitive idea of the Persian and Sanscrit deity, so named, embodied in the Greek Athené, both pointing to the light of day shed forth on the world at the opening dawn. It is one of those singular instances of perversion in the development of religion that the worship of Mitra, which was at one time a comparatively pure worship (like that of the *ἄει πάροινος*), should have degenerated in later days to the degraded form it assumed in the Roman Empire.

The earliest object of reverence among the undivided Aryan nation was the bright sky, Dyaus; known as *Zēus* in Greece, and Jupiter in Rome. In this idea of the bright sky are contained two distinct elements, which afterwards came to be invoked separately, and in fact supplanted the worship of Dyaus amongst the Aryans in India. The two elements are the *sky* itself, *i.e.*, the vault of heaven, called Varuna in Sanscrit, and *ὕψωνος* in Greek, and the *light* of heaven, called Mitra in Sanscrit, and, as I have said, the same as the Greek Athené.

Hence, in all the Vedic hymns, save one, Mitra and Varuna are associated. They are invoked together. Their union, in fact, is the same as Dyaus, and Dyaus consequently is no more heard of.

Varuna, however, is worshipped separately, and to him is attributed supreme power, even when so distinguished from Mitra; and the reason of this is plain, for though the *light* of heaven disappears, the *vault* of heaven remains unmoved. Hence, again, Varuna is very often identified with the night, *i.e.*, the vault of heaven without the light. Thus the old Vedic commentator, Sâyana, says (Rig. Veda. I., 89, 3.): "Mitra is the god who presides over the day," according to the Vedic text, "the day is Mitra's;" and, again, "Varuna is derived from the root *vri*, "to cover." He envelopes the wicked in his snares, and is the god who rules over the night." It is to be observed, therefore, that the earliest idea of Mitra was not the *Sun*, but the light of the sun.

This has been well brought out by Professor Roth, in his paper on "The Highest Gods of the Arian Nations" (Journal of the Germ. Oriental Soc., VI., p. 70). "Within the circle of the Adityas there subsists the oldest connection between Mitra and Varuna, who are invoked more frequently together than Varuna is invoked singly. We find only one hymn in which Mitra is invoked singly. This dual invocation is observed in the Zend Avesta, under the form of Ahura and Mithra, which proves how close the ancient connection of the two was. The essential character of the two gods, as distinguished from one another, is nowhere expressed in the hymns, and was in fact originally one which could not be defined with intellectual precision; but the stage of religious culture which lies before us in the Rig Veda enables us to distinguish the difference as one already existing, *viz.*, that Mitra is the celestial light in its manifestation by day, whilst Varuna, though the lord of all light and of all time, yet rules especially over the nightly heaven. A hymn of Vaisishtha (VII., 36, 2.) says:—"One of you (*i.e.*, Varuna) is the lord and unassailable guide, and he who is called the friend (Mitra) calls men into activity." Here it is shown that the light of day which calls men into activity, *i.e.*, awakens life, and brings joy and activity to the world, is the narrower sphere of Mitra's power, though Varuna is not thereby relegated to the night alone, for he continues to be lord and the first;" or, in other words, the vault, or covering canopy of the firmament, remains the same though his companion and friend (Mitra), the light, is absent.

I said that the knowledge of Mithras was possessed by the entire Aryan race before their separation. In proof, let me quote the words

of Dr. Windischman, who, in his dissertation on the Persian Mithras, says :—"It is established that this god was known to the old Aryan race before its separation into the Iranian and Indian branches, though the conception of his character was subsequently modified by Zoroastrian ideas." That Mithras was worshipped in Persia in and previous to the age of Herodotus is proved, as Windischman remarks, by the common use of such names as Mitradates and Mitrobates. Herodotus, indeed (I., 131), speaks of Mitra as a goddess, and not a god ; but Xenophon (Cyp. VIII., s. 53.), and Plutarch (Artax. 4) describe him as a god ; whilst Plutarch (de Iside et Osiride XLVI.) tells us that Zoroaster considered Mithras as standing intermediate between the deity Oromazdes and Areimanius ; that is, between light and darkness, or God and sin.

Here we get hold of the idea of Manes, the Persian founder of the Manichæan sect, who said that Mithras was Christ. It is simply this : the light is mediator, or intermediate between the rising sun and the setting sun ; *i.e.*, between Ahuramazda and Ahriman, the harbinger of day, and the power of darkness—the night. Manes, trying to reconcile the realistic teaching of nature worship with the Divine Revelation, introduced Mithras as mediator between God and man, and called him Christ.

To show that the primitive idea of Mitra was not the sun itself, but the light of the sun, we need only quote Rig Veda, VII., 6, and VII., 63, 1, and X., 37, 1 ; where the sun is spoken of as the eye of Mitra, just as he is said by Hesiod to be the eye of Zeus *πάντα ἰδὼν* *Δίος ὀφθαλμος καὶ πάντα νοήσας*" (Op. et dies, 265) ; or, as Shakespeare says (Henry VI., pt. 1, 1, 4):—

"Tho' thy speech doth fail,
One eye thou hast to look to heaven for grace,
The Sun with one eye vieweth all the world."

Or, again, King John, IV., 2 :—

"To seek the beauteous eye of heaven to garnish."

And from this we shall have to show presently that the factor Mithras, in the resolution of Dyaus or Ζεύς into Varuna and Mitra, is often taken for the whole, *viz.*, Ζεύς himself. I said that Mitra alone is only once celebrated in the Rig Veda (III., 59), but sufficient is

afforded in the phrases employed in this hymn to lead to safe conclusions as to his early character. First, it is stated, "Mitra uttering his voice calls men to activity." This is the voice of Nature, or the returning light of day. "Mitra, with unwinking eye, beholds all creatures." Here the idea of the sun, the source of light as the eye of the world, is presented, from which eventually sprang the confusion of cause and effect in making the sun equal to Mitra. "Mitra, son of Aditi (*i.e.*, the Infinite), may the mortal who worships thee with sacred rites have food. He who is protected by thee is neither slain or conquered." Here comes in the idea of "invictus," again the cause confused with effect. "This Mitra, adorable, auspicious, a king strong and wise has been born." Here the idea of strength and wisdom anticipate the character of Athene. "This great Aditya (*i.e.*, son of Aditi), who rouses men to exertion, who is favourable to his worshipper, is to be approached with reverence. Mitra, who by his greatness transcends the sky and the earth by his renown. The five classes of men have done homage to Mitra, the powerful helper who sustains all the gods." Here is the idea of Mitra as *friend*.

In this hymn we have certain properties pointed out belonging to Mitra which are also essentially elements in the character of Athené, as we shall afterwards show.

It is plain that in the Indian section of the Aryan family the worship of Mitra was preserved from the Vedic period, or the probable period of separation, downwards to a late date, at least as late as Buddha; but in the Iranian section we have no specific mention of Mithras in the Gâthas, and the name only comes into usage at the time when the Yasna was written, *i.e.*, about the fifth century B.C. The tendency of the authors of the Yashts was to raise the dignity of angels such as Mitra to that of Ahuramazda, with whom they were said to be equal. So says Haug. Now, this is a curious expansion of doctrine. The first idea of Mithras was "pure light," but then by a confusion of light and the Sun the Persians were led to frame the theory of angels; so that Mithras now becomes the angel of the Sun. Hence the Sun, Khurshêd, is plainly distinguished from Mithras, or Mihir, the angel of the sun, in the Yasna. This is evidently a corruption of the primitive idea of light diffused by it from the rising Sun; these rays are by the writers and the Yasna or Yashts called

the Sun's angel. The probable reason of the absence of all mention of Mithras in the earlier Vendidad writings of Zaratushtira is to be found in the fact that Zoroaster was entirely opposed to the Nature worship of the Indian Aryans. Hence the Devas, or bright gods of India, became Dævas or devils of Persia, and the Asuras or devils of India were the Ahuras or good beings (Ahuramazda being the chief) of Persia. So Mitra, the bright daylight, was for a time ignored by the Persians; but at the period when the Yashts were written he became again the great and beneficent being he had always been ere the Iranians and Indians were divided by a religious schism. If we come to consider the actual honour paid to Mithras in the later period of Persian history, we shall find enough for our purpose in the Mihir Yasht, or the songs used at the sacrificial celebration of Mithras or Mihir, *the friend*. In the first section of this Yasht, Ahuramazda says to Zaratushtira:—"I created Mithras, who rules over wide fields, to be of the same rank and dignity as I myself am. He who belies Mithras spoils the whole country. Therefore, never break a promise, neither that contracted with a fellow-religionist, or with an infidel."

* * * * Again, "Mithras, who always speaks the truth, has a thousand ears, and ten thousand eyes, and is always watching without falling asleep over the welfare of creation. He, first of all the celestial spirits, crosses the Mount Alborz on its eastern side, where the immortal sun with his swift horses is stationed; he, first covered with gold, reaches the summit of the mount, and thence overlooks the whole of Iran. * * * * He brings light to all the seven regions of the earth. Victory sounds in the ears of all those who by knowledge of the appropriate rites and prayers continuously worship him with sacrifices." Here, then, we are getting nearer to the form under which the worship of Mithras was introduced into the West. The ideas of strength and victory are now associated with the beneficent purposes of light, shed over the world lying in darkness.

This development was a simple one. When first "light" was adored as an "abstract element," derived from the compound Dyaus, the principal thought was that of "friendship" to men, and hence the name Mithras, or Mitra; but afterwards, when the idea of light was lost in the concrete form of the visible sun, the source of light, then Mithras was clothed with other attributes derived from solar influences.

He was clad in gold, strong and invincible, truthful and uniform. All these attributes were derived from the character of the deity with whom he was now identified.

Hence, all solar phenomena are to be found in the later idea of Mithras. The *unconquered* Sun is in fact the unconquered Hercules, and it is, probably, on account of these physical qualities of strength and victory that this deity became so popular in Rome and Western Europe.

The idea of "invictus" is, of course, derived from the unsurpassed energy of the Sun in conquering the evil powers that would compel him to leave the world to darkness and woe. When he is drawn piercing the bull with his knife, the thought is simply this: the sun entering Taurus at the spring equinox, returns to the northern world again, and his light as he rises in the east, paling the stars of the zodiacal constellation, is simply the dagger of Mithras piercing the sides of the bull. So he is always spoken of as the strong, the victorious, the fully armed, with the silver helm, golden mail, armed with dagger, mighty, strong, lord of the clan, the warrior, and so on, all indicating the thought uppermost in the mind of the writer, that the power of the sun in contending with the powers of darkness, whether in its daily or yearly course, is invincible.

The worship, then, of Mithras as a physical power would naturally recommend itself to the Romans, who as a nation typified physical strength. The idea of "invictus" would be most congenial to that brave people, who remained unvanquished through ages of warfare, and who for so many years struggled against the talent and determination of Mithradates VI. himself, a type of the unconquerable character of the power from which he derived his name.

This probably is the secret of the first introduction of the worship of Mithras into the Roman Empire. As Athens had her Parthenon, so Rome had her Pantheon, a building, we are assured, consecrated to the worship of Apollo, the Roman Mithras; a dome to represent the visible heaven or Varuna, and a vast space on the summit through which the light of the sun, after the vernal equinox, poured its rays into the interior of the building, to represent Mithras.

It is a strange leap from the Pantheon and the altar erected in the Capitol to the god "Soli invicto, Mithræ" to the altars found in

Britain, but yet it must be made ; and we find the same fealty to the "unconquered one" animating the legions who kept North Britain in check by the stupendous work of the Roman Wall as influenced Lucullus or Sulla in their struggle with Mithradates VI., in Pontus and Asia.

It will be as well, however, before going further, to say a word or two as to the agreement of the dawn myth of Athéné with the description given in the character of Mithras.

We will select some few points of resemblance as they are found in the Iliad of Homer and the Mihr Yasht of the Persians. Assuming the idea of Athéné, as the ever pure and invincible, to be derived from the character of the dawn (Ahaná), and also assuming, as Spiegel says in the Mihr Yasht, p. 58, *n*, "that Mithras was typified by the first sunbeams that illumine the mountain tops," we shall find some remarkable points of agreement between the two. First, as in the Iliad, IV., 150, Athéné diverts the arrow of Pandarus from the breast of Menelaus:—

"But not unmindful, then, the blissful gods,
Of thee, great Menelaus! In thy front
First she, Zeus-born, the spoiler of the slain,
Athené stood, and half repelled the dart.
She brushed it from his form as from her child,
Lapped in sweet sleep, a mother might a fly."

—*Cordery's Translation.*

Compare this characteristic with that of Mithras (Mihr Yasht, 39)—

"Their arrows swift-flying from well-bent bows [compare the account of Pandarus bending his bow], flying out of sight, hit not the mark when Mithras, who possesses wide pastures, comes enraged, angered, displeased."

Again, compare Iliad XI., 500, *ss.*:—

"He spake, and on the orbèd shield struck full;
Through the bright buckler passed the stont good lance,
And through the enamelled corselet making way,
Laid bare the ribs of flesh: Athené there
Stay'd it, nor suffered it to reach his heart."

with Mihr Yasht, 39:—

"Their lances well sharpened, pointed, long handled, reach not the mark when they fly from their arms, when Mithras, etc., comes."

Again, notice that Athené is described as a wrathful deity:—

“ He spoke, and kindled in Athené’s breast
A wrath, erst flaming high to higher flame.
Down from Olympus heights she sprang, and seemed
Some flashing meteor.”

So also Mithras is described as a wrathful deity (Mihr Yasht, 18:—

“ But if one lies to him * * * then Mithras, the wrathful, offended,
destroys the dwelling, etc.”—[vid. also extract quoted above; Mihr Yasht, 39.]

Again, observe the remarkable connection between Mithras, *i.e.*, the Dawn, as denoted by the rays of the sun, and the Sun itself, and compare this with the marked relationship of Athené and Apollo.

Again, observe the special offerings made to Athené—twelve heifers never touched by goad (Iliad VI., 93, 274, 308), etc.—with the special offerings made to Mithras:—“ With *offerings by name*, with fitting speech, will I offer to thee with gifts, O strong Mithras.” (Mihr Yasht, 31) [and in other places].

In short, the attributes and special characteristics of Mithra, summed up in the following invocation, might perfectly be applied to Athené:—“ Give us the favours we pray thee for, O hero, in accordance with the given prayers: kingdom, strength, victoriousness, fullness, and sanctification, good fame, and purity of soul, greatness and knowledge of holiness, victory created by Ahura, the blow which springs from above, from the best purity, instruction in the holy word; that we may be well-wishing and friendly-minded, loved and honoured, may slay all foes; that we, well-wishing and friendly-minded, loved and honoured, may slay all evil wishers; that we, etc., may slay all torment, etc.” (Mihr Yasht, 33, 34.)

That Mithras represents the Dawn is rendered probable from various passages in the Mihr Yasht, *e.g.* (13):—“ Who, as the first heavenly Yazata, rises over Hara before the sun.” And compare the note on this passage in Bleek’s version.

Again, Mihr Yasht, 95: “ Mithras, who advances at sunrise, broad as the earth,” etc.

Again, compare the marked connection between Athené and Zeus; and compare with it the close union of Mithras with Ahuramazda (Mihr Yasht, 1):—“ When I created Mithras, who possesses wide

pastures, O holy, I created him as worthy of honour as praiseworthy, as I myself, Ahuramazda."

Again, Mihr Yasht, 145:—"Mithras and Ahura, both great, imperishable, pure, praise we."

Again, compare the epithet constantly applied to Mithras, who has "ten thousand eyes," with the epithet *γλαύκωπις*, where the idea appears "flashing or gleaming-eyed;" and so, again, in the Mihr Yasht, the idea of "brightness" is constantly attached to the character of Mithras, as the epithet *κυδιστή* is to Athené in Homer.

With respect to the expression Tritogoneia, which Mr. Gladstone concludes (*Contemporary Review*, July, 1876, p. 284) is derived most probably from an old word, *trito*, for the head, there is a curious illustration bearing on this point in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, edited by Dr. Bruce (p. 40), where there is a figure of Mithras (so supposed) of the following character.



It would seem from this that *Mithras* might either be called *Tritogoneia*, as born from the head, supposing the three rays represent the dawn; or that the three rays themselves are the prelude or cause of the dawn, in which case the word *trito* would be allied to the Sanscrit *trétá*, in the sense of a triad or three-fold, corresponding to the expression *tretini*, a three-fold flame; *tretagni*, the three fires collectively; or the other form of *traita*, "a collection of three;" or perhaps from Trita, who is a son of the water, and is made by M. Williams (*Sansc. Dict., Sub. Voc.*) to be the origin of the compound Tritogenes. At any rate, this curious illustration of Mithras throws light on the history of the "three rays," which are so constantly connected with *power*, *wisdom*, or the *origin*, as in the *trisula*, the *sudamani*, the *trident*, the *three-forked crown* of Buddha, and perhaps the *Prince of Wales' plume*.

The connection of Mithras with Athené is further signified by the description given of both as fully armed "him with the silver helm, golden coat of mail, armed with dagger, mighty, strong, lord of the

clan, the warrior," etc. (Mihr Yasht, 112.) The helm and spear of Minerva are well known.



Again, Mithras is stated to be "the most understanding of the gods" (Mihr Yasht, 141); and, again, "the skilful" (Mihr Yasht, 54.)

But I pass on now to offer some remarks on the *Swastika*, which is generally found on altars dedicated to Mithras. The Roman altar, 366, found at Amboglanna (*Lapidarium*, p. 184) bears on it the mark of the Swastika, as shown in the woodcut. This is the correct form; the circular cross or wheel in the centre indicating strength. The wheel is always so used in the East as the symbol of *invincible might*; hence the expression

to turn the wheel of the law, etc.

In the altar, No. 546 *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, the upper portion of which is given in the woodcut, the Swastika is turned the wrong way, the reason of which we will explain presently.




Again, 553 *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, is the following :—



Where the Swastika is correct.

With regard to the origin of this emblem, called in the Greek Church the *gammadion*, and by a singular coincidence corresponding to the letter G in the earliest Runes (Prof. Stephens), it can be traced to the early idea of the good fortune attending the movement of the Sun in his apparent journey from east to west. In a Chinese book in my possession there is a treatise on the origin of this world-wide opinion. The writer states that in the East it was customary to observe the sun's shadow cast on the ground by a gnomon, both to determine the hour of the day and the season of the year; and as this shadow would always move from left to right *in northern countries beyond the tropic*, so it was regarded as a sign of respect either in religious worship or in any ceremony of consequence, to move round the object revered in a direction agreeing with the sun's movement round the earth, *i.e.*, always from left to right; whilst *in countries within the tropics*, when the sun was in high declination, the shadow would appear to move from right to left; or the sun would be on our right hand instead of the left. Now, the earliest symbol of the earth was a plain cross, denoting the four cardinal points; hence, we have the word *Chaturanta*, *i.e.* the *four sides*, both in Pāli and Sanscrit, for the earth; and on the Nestorian tablet, found at Siganfu some years ago, the mode of saying "God created the earth," is simply this "God created the +." Granting this—and we can gather it conclusively from the Chinese symbol for a "field" or an "enclosed space," which is

simply the + surrounded by four straight lines, as a square or parallelogram  denoting *the earth* enclosed—assuming this, it will be seen at once that to represent the sun's movement from left to right, a line drawn in that direction at the end of each arm of the + would be enough; and to represent the same movement from right to left, the lines would be drawn in *that* direction. Hence the Swastika is drawn in both ways. It is universally regarded as a sign of *good fortune*; hence, in Scotland, to move round an object from right to left is considered most unlucky and called *withershins*; and so Sir Walter Scott remarks (*Waverley*, cap. xxiv.) that "the old mountain people always move round any one to whom they wish to show respect, or for whom they desire good fortune, in the direction known as *densil*; whilst to move in the contrary way is considered as wishing to curse one." Mr. Joyce ("Irish Names of Places," p. 29) makes the same remark with respect to Irish customs; it will be seen at once, then, why this symbol should be identified with Mitra, "the friend," the bringer of good fortune; and accordingly we ever find it so.

If we seek for other reasons except the natural one of "invincible strength" for the common worship of Mitra in the time of the Roman Empire, we shall find it in the fact of Hadrian's putting an end to the monopoly held by Alexandria in the Indian trade, and admitting Palmyra into the commercial system of the empire. It is true that trade between India and Palmyra had existed for a long period before this, as Trajan, according to Cassius (L. 67, cap. 28.), when he descended the Tigris and came to the Ocean "saw a certain ship sailing to India," but it was under the patronage of Hadrian and that of his successors, the Antonines, who lived much in the East, and followed out his policy, that Palmyra rapidly developed the advantages it derived from its position as the nearest route to India; and when Emesa, almost on its frontiers, and on the high road to Antioch and Damascus, gave to Rome Julia Domna, the wife of one Emperor Severus, and the mother of another Caracalla; and afterwards two emperors, Helio-gabalus and Alexander; then Palmyra rose to be a power which for a while held with Rome divided Empire. It was during the reigns of Severus, Caracalla, and the pseudo-Antonines that Roman intercourse with India was at its height, and Roman literature gave its attention to Indian matters, and did not as before satisfy itself simply by quoting

from the historians of Alexander. It was then that Clemens of Alexandria wrote an independent account of the gymnosophists and Buddhists (Stromata I., 15); then, also, Philostratus published his Romance of Apollonius of Tyana, and Ælian his *varie historie*; then also Dio Cassius wrote his history, and then again Bardasanes gave to the world his *Indica*, the materials of which he derived from Dandas, at Babylon. It will be seen, then, that at this time the worship of Mitra, *the fortunate and invincible*, would be particularly familiar to the Roman merchants and the Roman soldiers, the latter of whom would carry their superstition into distant lands, and erect altars to the "Unconquered God," wherever they went. Hence they crop up in Britain and Germany at the present time, and are being brought to light as testimony of the vast energy, and at the same time the unbounded superstition, of those who erected them.

I have before stated that Mitra was not only a symbol of the light of the Sun, but also of the light of Truth. To lie to Mitra was considered by the Persians a great crime, and was certain to bring upon the criminal condign punishment. In this aspect *we* may also inscribe on our altars, "Deo invicto," the unconquered Truth, for when the Sun shall be darkened and the light of day extinguished, still the light of God's truth will remain unconquered, and those who have loved the truth shall shine for ever and ever. *Magna est veritas et prævalebit.*

THE WESTERN STATIONS.

BY MR. W. H. D. LONGSTAFFE. READ MARCH 26TH, 1879.

THAT Banna is Bewcastle, Camboglans Cambeck-Fort, Petriana Old Carlisle, Aballava Papcastle, Congavata Moresby, Uxelodunum Ellenborough, and Tunnocelum Bowness, are identifications which have, for varying reasons, presented themselves to other minds. These may, judging from the words in the Itinerary—"a limite, id est a vallo," and again "a vallo," applied to the stations far north of the actual barrier—fairly be deemed to be "per lineam valli." Continuous works do indeed reach to Moresby on the west, and to Tynemouth on the east, and it is interesting to observe that the Lingones occur at both places. The words of Camden (placing in his margin, "The sea side fenced"), are:—"From hence [*i.e.* from Egremont, to which a road from Papcastle led] the shore, drawing itselfe backe little and little, and as it appeareth by the heapes of rubbish, it hath beene fortified all along by the Romans, wheresoever there was easie landing. For, it was the outmost bound of the Roman empire, and the Scots lay sorest upon this coast and infested it most, when, as it were with continuall surges of warre, they flowed and flocked hither by heapes out of Ireland. And certaine it is that Moresby, a little village, where is a roade for ships, was one of these fortifications. For there are many monumentes of antiquity, as vaultes under the ground, great foundations; many caves, which they use to tearme Picts'-Holes." Then, after mentioning "the carcasse of an ancient castle, called Papcastle," in which the celebrated font of Bridekirk was said to have been found, the topographer crosses to Workinton, and informs us that "from

hence some thinke there was a wall made to defend the shore in convenient places, for foure miles, or thereabout, by Stilico the potent commander in the Roman state, what time as the Scots annoyed these coasts out of Ireland. For thus speaketh Britaine of herselfe, in Claudian :—

“And me likewise, at hands (quoth she) to perish, through despight
Of neighbour-nations, Stilico fensed against their might,
What time the Scots all Ireland moved offensive armes to take.”

“There are also, as yet, such continued ruins and broken walles to be seene as farre as to Elne-Mouth.” This notion may have elements of truth in it. That Stilicho, not necessarily during his own sojourn here, did *something* in the way of fortifying Britain is obvious, and his works were not confined to the west coast. I take up a newer translation :—

“When the Scot moved all Ireland to my doom
And hostile oars lashed all my waves to foam,
This is his work—that I no longer fear
The *Pict*, nor tremble at the Scottish spear;
Nor watch the doubtful winds around my coast,
Lest they should waft in sight the *Saxon* host.”

“The Book of Notices,” which tells us “what legion binds the Saxon, which the Scot,” shows how the south-east Saxon shore, and the Linea Valli (against the Picts, a non-maritime power, on the east, and against the Scots of Ireland, necessarily a naval power, on the west,) were guarded. Very little attention is paid to the rest of Britain. The Roman protectorate was dying. And now comes the question:—Who were the Attacotti? the nation thought worthy of being recorded as one of the four nations that extinguished that protectorate or empire or whatever we may like to call it, seeing from Ptolemy and the history of Boadicea that the natives were distinguishable into districts. Had these Attacotti had anything to do with the making of what is now called the Vallum? That Hadrian had, like Stilicho, something to do with what we call the Wall, seems to be clear from documentary evidence on parchment and on stone, but while one party thinks that the Vallum was the earlier work, and that its northern rampart was a well laid-out road, the other party naturally objects that

there are blocks of stone which unfit that rampart for the purpose of a road. Taking the ordinary idea that, for some "why or wherefore," it was thought to be judicious to do what Hadrian's successor, Antoninus Pius, thought it unnecessary to do against more northern tribes, more dangerous, one would think, than the acquired southern ones, how is it that the Vallum is left in such a strange state? But, as to these Attacotti, doctors differ. Baxter places them in the south-west of England, Hughes in the present Scotland. Neither doctor attempts to identify them with Ptolemy's Attrebatii. The evidence about them is of the sparest description, and one would not like to give a decision on the construction of Ammianus's words under the year 364 :—"The Picts the Saxons also and the Scots and the Attacotts." I purposely use no punctuation. The Picts lived north of the Frith of Forth, the Saxons lived in Sleswick-Holstein, the Scots lived in Ireland. But where were the Attacotti living? I quote the same author again under 368 :—"The Picts in two nations divided Dicalidons and Vecturions and also the Attacotts a bellicose nation of men and the Scots," Gaul being disturbed by Franks and Saxons. I again avoid punctuation. Jerome, about 393, speaks of having, in his youth, in Gaul, seen the "Atticots, a British race," feed upon human flesh, and gives some details as to their particular joints, much reminding us of our Christmas beef. Shepherds and shepherdesses keeping kine and swine in the woods appear to have been their temporary prey, and, apparently, they resembled the Africans in their habits of cutting steaks without sacrificing life. This grave theologist proceeds to the matrimonial usages of the Scots and brings in Plato and Cato. Once more, under 400, he mentions the rite of the Scots and Attacots and Plato. And he has an exceedingly interesting passage about the Alpine and Scottish dogs and Cerberus.

Now this scarcity, if the *Notitia* are complete, of Roman garrisons in England at the time of the compilation of these Notices, is most instructive. Either the interior was entirely in the hands of the Attacots or some other enemies, or it was thoroughly rebellious, or it was not rebellious and required no guarding. The whole tone of the history, as it presents itself to the mind, is that the Romans, bad as they might be [see Gibbon], were not unwelcome emperors or protectors, and I adhere to the original ideas which I entertained on the appear-

ance of the Survey of the Roman Wall that the Vallum is considerably later than the murus or its earlier ditch, and to those of Robert White that the murus would be built much after the manner of a Gothic cathedral, with broached stones at Ouseburn, and plain stones elsewhere, the design, useful or useless, having to be carried out.

Leaving the Roman Wall, I return to the independent works in its neighbourhood.

There are many delicacies and honesties about Horsley's "*Britannia Romana*," especially near the close of it and of him. In introducing the independent works, he says:—"I have taken some notice of the out-buildings at Walwick-Chesters between the fort and the river. I might have added, that these buildings seem to have been continued near the river lower down than the fort. I have also said that the shorter military-way from Carvoran has terminated eastward at this station. I should rather have said only, that it came up to this station; for I am now of opinion that it has been farther continued, 'till it reached Watling-Street." As to this final opinion there can be little doubt about its accuracy. Two camps had to be served on the way, and the Devil's Causeway, running from Berwick, crosses Deor Street or Watling Street at an angle, falls into Stanegate and provides access to the four "independent stations," Little Chesters and Carvoran in Northumberland, and Castlesteads and Watchcross in Cumberland. These, like Carlisle itself, all lie south of the works now called the Wall.

Glannibanta and other stations, though kept up by the Romans in the deadly times of the *Notitia* for some reason, probably in connection with the "*linea valli*," seem to constitute a distinct series, and it will be remembered that in earlier days Glanoventa abruptly commences Iter X. without any mention of the limes, limit, or leam.

My humble task will be to attempt to justify the identifications mentioned at my commencement, and to compare the evidences in the hope of detecting Gabrosentum and Maia.

I have, without regard to scale, roughly coloured an ordnance map of Cumberland, simply as to the succession of *civitates*, but, in dealing with the Rudge Cup and the *Notitia*, I thought that it might be desirable to delineate roughly the Roman roads, observed or traditional. Not having minute local knowledge, it would be absurd to illustrate

my subject by more than simple straight lines. The blue line represents the arrangement in the *Notitia*, the red one that on the Rudge Cup and the Chorographia of Ravennas. The dotted brown lines show the roads merely as to their general courses, not as to their details. From Banna on the way to Axelodunum, and from Amboglanna to Aballaba, the two routes to a considerable extent might have been identified. But for clearness I preferred to keep them as distinct as possible. The courses of the roads are, however, in connection with the main subject, of much interest, and I have ventured by a black line to indicate how to a certain extent the two systems may coincide. The two names common to these two systems are Axelodunum and Aballaba. The consideration of the various *iters* may well be deferred, but as Glannibanta and Alione of the *Notitia* are clearly identical with the Glanoventa and Alone of *Iter X.*, I have further ventured to extend my blue line to those places, and to indicate the road from them to Bremetenracum or Ribchester.

Come we now to Amboglanna, because one cannot help feeling that the range from its neighbour Banna to Maia is earlier than that of the *Notitia*. We cannot reject the evidence of the Rudge Cup, whatever we may think of copies of writings.* The corroboration by the Rudge Cup of the value of the Chorographia of Ravennas with all its corruptions is striking when the two evidences are seen side by side; and the Chorographia, for many reasons, deserves the most careful dissection. Here is a little piece of it:—"Juliocanon, Gabrocentio, Alauna, Bribra, Maio, Olerica, Derventione, Ravonia Bresnetenaci Veteranorum." I have, and other people may well have, notions about the *iters* of this passage. I cannot bring them into any reasonable order. Possibly, although not widely separated, they have none, and they must not disturb our present progress.

Commencing with Amboglanna, and taking the names on the Rudge Cup inversely, there have been discovered at that station now called Burdoswald, a stone commemorating the Bannian hunters and a piece of pottery reading reversely Banna. There being no pretence to justify an identification of Banna with Amboglanna, but considering

* "May of Lambton (sayeth Surtees) does not occur elsewhere" than in Bishop Kellaw's grant of an approvement, meadow, made from the waste by "Maia de Lambton [Leam-town]. Of course, this strange companionship of names connected with Roman localities is accidental.

the proximity of the two places, and that a road has been distinctly traced between them, we can have little hesitation in indentifying Bewcastle with Banna. Whether there was a direct road from it to Cambeck-Fort, or travellers had to avoid the hunters' forest by coming round by Amboglanna, is a question left to local observers.

The next station, omitted by the Chorographia of Ravennas, possibly from its insignificance, is Camboglans, and here one of the four independent stations, on the Cambeck, anciently Camboc, seems to have claims, seeing that it is on the right route, until the contrary shall be shown. The next is Uxelodum, probably approached by the ascertained road through Petriana, and manifestly the Uxeludianum of the Chorographia and the Axelodunum of the *Notitia*. The name evidently refers to water or waters and to a hill. From the numerous inscriptions by the First Cohort of the Spaniards there can be no doubt that Ellenborough is Axelodunum. The name, probably, is compound or pleonastic. Ax or Ux is intelligible enough, El may well be the Elne, and as to Dunum we may take the site.

Harking back from the sea-coast, we come to Aballaba, which is placed at Papcastle on the authority of an inscription mentioning the Aballavensian Frisons; some Vinovian ones identifying Vinovium with Binchester, had other proof of identity been wanting. It is noteworthy that a Roman road from Aballaba to Egremont passes by Frisington.

We now have to seek for Maia south of Papcastle, and in doing so we arrive at a remarkable fortress, which "from its situation appears evidently to have been made with a view of guarding one of the principal passes from the west coast into the inland country" (Bishop of Cloyne), and probably to have been connected with an occupation of the mouth of the Esk which rises near it. "Two rivers," says Holland's "Camden" of 1609 (Camden dying in 1623), "very commodiously enclose within them Ravenglass, a station or roade for ships, where also, as I have learned, were to bee seene, Roman inscriptions: some will have it called in old-time Aven-glasse, as one would say, the blew river, and they talke much of King Eueling, that heere had his court and roiall palace. One of these rivers named Eske springeth up at the foote of Hard-knot (nere Wrinose *in the margin*), an high steepe mountaine, in the top whereof were discovered of late huge stones and foundations of a castle not without great wonder, considering it is so

steep and upright, that one can hardly ascend up to it." Hodgson observes that "Castle seems to have been the designation of a station in Cumberland—Chesters in Northumberland" (ii. iii., 222). Holland was not a Cumbrian, but the phrase *castle* for a *camp* occurs in Halliwell's "Dictionary of Archaic Words," and Holland was not unaware of its continuance in Cumberland, having elsewhere to speak of "the carcasce of an ancient castle, called Papcastle, which by a number of monuments laith claime to bee a Romaine antiquity." So he uses the word for both ancient and modern bailies, as did his master Camden the word *castrum*. Speed, in the first edition of his maps, notes the Roman character of this castle, under Cumberland, in a passage worth quoting:—"Many memorable antiquities remaine and have beene found in this countie: for it being the confines of the Romans' possessions, was continually secured by their garrisons, where remaine at this day parts of that admirable wall built by Severus: also another fortification from Workinton to Elns-mouth, upon the sea-shoare toward Ireland, by Stilico raised when under Theodosius he suppressed the rage of the Picts and Irish, and freed the seas of the Saxon pyrats. Upon Hardknot Hill, Moresby, Old Carleil, Papcastle, along the Wall, and in many other places, their ruines remaine, with altars, and inscriptions of their captaines and colonies, whereof many have beene found, and more as yet lie hid." Bishop Gibson can have had no personal knowledge of the place as he surmised that the stones were "possibly the ruins of some church or chapel," built on a mountain, as in Denmark, and as both nearer Heaven and more conspicuous. All doubt, if any were justifiable, as to the Roman nature of the castle on Hardknot Hill, is unavailing against the clear evidences in Hutchinson's "History of Cumberland." Nicholson and Burn, in their otherwise excellent book, do not seem to mention it. But, in 1791 or 1792, E. L. Irton, Esq., and Mr. H. Serjeant had it excavated and surveyed, and the valuable results of their labours, showing a full-sized Roman station, "with a great many fragments of brick, apparently Roman, which must necessarily have been brought from a great distance," will be found in Hutchinson's History, i., 569, with the information that at the outside of the eastern gate there appeared to be preserved a space of about "two acres," used perhaps for a parade and military exercise. On the north of this plot was an artificial bank of stones,

"having a regular slope from the summit," near which, on the highest ground, were the remains of a round tower. From some works adjoining this, the road "is continued along the edge of the hill to the pass, where it joins the highest part of the present road to Kendal, from which road this fort, on the west side of Hardknot Hill, then known to the country people as Hardknot Castle, was about 120 yards to the left." The importance of this commencement of the group of stations receives corroboration from "the broken battle-axes of flint, arrow-heads, and coins of different people—many of them Roman, and some Saxon," found at Walls Castle, near Ravenglass.

In this singular and skilfully-formed station, which was "as nearly square as the ground would admit," the irregularity of the position of the four gateways (all of which were flanked by two turrets) being owing to the ground also, the walls were of "the common fell stone," except the corners (in which were turrets) and the arching of the gateways, both of which items were of freestone. There is no freestone nearer than Gosforth. In 1792, all the corners had been robbed of their material for neighbouring buildings, and when Lysons visited the remains in 1813, "no part of the walls was to be seen standing; the stones having been thrown down on both sides formed a high ridge, which, in a spot more favourable to vegetation, would have long since been covered with turf. There did not appear to have been any mortar used in the walls."

The "esplanade at the distance of 150 yards, formed with much trouble, for the exercise or review of troops," as the Bishop of Cloyne puts it, is very interesting in connection with the sequence of fortresses under our consideration; for Lysons has this note:—"A broad pavement of flat stones, intended probably for the same purpose, was found a little out of the gate at Cambeck Fort, on the Wall [Camboglans], when that station was destroyed in 1791."

We now may consider the *Notitia* series. Leaving the Wall at Amboglanna, Banna and Camboglans being practically useless and unnoticed, we soon meet with an Ala Petriana in a quarry nigh Lanercost, which valuable cavalry, under the same name, has occurred at Old Penrith, and with the honourable addition of Augusta at Carlisle, both places being on the Petter-rill. They were clearly the wing of the west at the time of the *Notitia*, and instead of taking the

name of their city, like the Dictenses, or Aballavensian Frisons, or the Vinovian Frisons, seem to have been the Petrian wing at the Petrian city to which they had given name. At this, their final resting place while in Cumberland, they have left numerous inscriptions, omitting the name by which they were known on out-service, and while at home in Petriana content with their dignified designations relating to the generic Augustus, and some particular Augustus. Old Carlisle appears to have been particularly suitable to a movable body such as theirs was. Holland, as to it, makes his author to read thus:—"Beneath this abbey [Holme Cultram] the brook called *Waver* runneth into the said arme of the sea, which brook taketh into it the riveret Wiza, at the head whereof lie the very bones and pitifull reliques of an ancient citie. The neighbours call it at this day Old Carlisle. . . . The situation to discover and descry afar off is passing fit and commodious, for, seated it is upon the top of a good high hill, from whence a man may easily take a full view of all the country round about. Howbeit, most certaine it is, that the wing of horsemen, which for their valour was named Augusta, and Augusta Gordiana kept resience here." I think that I should like to put upon further record that Camden, in this district, was indebted for copies of Roman inscriptions to "Oswald Dikes, a learned minister of God's word." Some people may blame Oswald Dikes, incumbent of Wensley, for desiring to be buried under the magnificent brass of Master Simon of Wensley, rector of Wensley. Oswald Dikes's modest memorial on the same stone does not offend *me*.

From Petriana the *Notitia* sequence proceeds to Aballava, *hodie* Papcastle as aforesaid, and then goes to Congavata, *hodie* Moresby, where the second cohort of the Lingones have, in accordance with the *Notitia*, left their mark. Then the course turns along the coast, for we come to Axelodunum (Ellenborough) again. And we must again follow our noses to arrive at Tunnoceum, taking Gabrosentum on our way.

There is a general notion, and perhaps it is rightly founded, that while the east coast is gradually sinking, at a rate more slowly possibly than that at which the ancient animal, the chalk producer, in fossil or in living times, performed and is performing his inevitable work, the west coast is rising. That the east coast has been sinking is obvious to anybody who knows the history of the destroyed churches and

villages of Yorkshire, who seeks in vain for the capacious harbour of the Wear, or is accustomed to the submerged forest ranging from Seaton to Whitburn at least. Whether the west coast is really rising may admit of doubt. Before approaching Tunnocelum (Bowness) we, having to find Gabrosentum on our way, will refer to a perplexing page of Holland :—"The inhabitants at this day call it Bulnesse : and *as small a village as it is, yet hath it a pile*, and in token of the antiquity thereof, besides the tracts of streetes, ruinous walles ; and an haven now stopped up with mud ; there led a paved high way from hence along the sea-shore, as far as to Elen-Borough, if we may relie upon report of the by-dwellers. Beyond this a mile (as is to bee seene by the foundations at a nepe tide) beganne that Wall, the most renowned workes of the Romans, which was the bound in times past of the Roman province ; raised of purpose to seclude and keepe out the barbarous nations, that in this tract, were evermore *barking and baying* (as an ancient writer saith) *about the Roman empire*. I mervailed at first, why they built here so great fortifications, considering that for eight miles or thereabout there lieth opposite a very great frith and arme of the sea : but now I understand, that at every ebbe the water is so low, that the borderers and beast-stealers may easily wade over. That the forme of these shores hath beene changed, it doth evidently appeare by the tree-rottes covered over with sand a good way off from the shore, which oftentimes, at a low ebbe, are discovered with the windes. I know not whether I may relate here, which the inhabitants reported, concerning trees without boughes, under the ground, oftentimes found out here in the mosses, by the direction of deaw in the summer : for, they have observed, that the deaw never standeth on that ground under which they lie."

If this were the plight of Bowness, we cannot feel surprise at Gabrosentum lying under the waves and sands of the Irish Sea. As Hardknot Castle had to be protected by Ravenglass, Papcastle by Moresby and Ellenborough, Carlisle by Bowness, so would Old Carlisle have to be. The nature of its own garrison, a flying body of cavalry, never very persistently within its walls, would necessitate particular attention to the custody of its stores, and the provision of them against the Scots of Ireland. We need, therefore, feel no surprise at the mouth of its river being well guarded, and emerging from the dim

ages as a port continuing to be of consequence, and used for purposes resembling those of its Roman days. Save a solitary inscribed stone figured in the "Lapidarium,"

"Not even the ruins of her pomp remain;
Not even the dust they sank in; by the breath
Of the Omnipotent, offended, hurled
Down to the bottom of the stormy deep."

Even the later "chappel of the Grune," which stood aloof from the new Skinburness as the church stands aloof from the modern Newbiggin, has disappeared. The dismal story of the last days of Gabrosentum may be best told in the simple words of Nicholson and Burn:—"In the year 1301, Bishop Halton being informed that the inhabitants of the village or town near the port in Skinburnese were at a great distance from all manner of divine service, grants a power to the abbot and convent of Holme Cultram to erect a church there. The town of Skinburnese was at this time not only privileged with a market, but seems also to have been the chief place for the king's magazines in these parts for supplying the armies then employed against the Scots. But the case was most miserably altered very soon after. For, in 1305, we find it thus mentioned in the parliament records: 'at the petition of the abbot requesting that whereas he had paid a fine of 100 marks to the King for a fair and market to be had in Skinburnese, and now that town *together with the way leading to it* is carried away by the sea, the King would grant that he may have such fair and market at his town of Kirkby Johan instead of the other place aforesaid, and that his charter upon this may be renewed; it is answered, Let the first charter be annulled, and then let him have a like charter in the place as he desireth.'"

And yet, as, past the forgotten Lavatris, the Laver floweth still, by its old name, so past the sunken city of Gabrosentum the ancient stream which conferred that appellation preserves its own to the present day. It seems to have been generally assumed by antiquarians that the first part of the name refers to the caprine species, and seeing that the same word is repeatedly found in application to rivers in the forms of Waver, Babren, Wever, Bever, and Wiver, Lloyd has to explain the circumstance in this fashion:—"Some rivers are metaphor-

ically denominated from the nature of their current, as *Gavr* or Goat from its frequent leaping, in time of flood, over a great number of large stones and precipices, down from the Glyder to the Lhan-Beris in Carnarvonshire." If this is the case with the Cumbrian Waver, the idea was a likely one to have arisen in the minds of those who sojourned upon the river which flows from that forest the goats whereof attracted Drayton's attention. Our word Waver, having a Saxon origin, can hardly be brought to bear, notwithstanding the sharp turns of this Waver, and those of the Wiver "then the which," Harrison "reade of no river in England that fetcheth more or halfe so many windlesses and crincklinges." The names of natural objects, however, deserve to be studied, without regard to comparatively modern forms of languages. Old Carlisle itself is upon the Wiza (Ouse?), which flows into the Waver, a name sufficiently archaic to have produced the designation of a township upon it, Waverton.

We thus arrive at Bowness, an exceptional station in the West, as Tunnocelum, by a process different from that of Horsley. At this particular point, the *Notitia*, before proceeding to Iter X. at Glannibanta, rests, and the Eden, her "sweet lovely self, a river so complete," was considered to end:—

"That mighty Roman fort, which of the Picts we call,
But by them near those times was styled Severus' wall,
Of that great emperor named, which first that work began,
Betwixt the Irish-sea and German-ocean,
Doth cut me in his course near Carlile, and doth end
At Boulnesse, where *myself* I on the ocean spend."

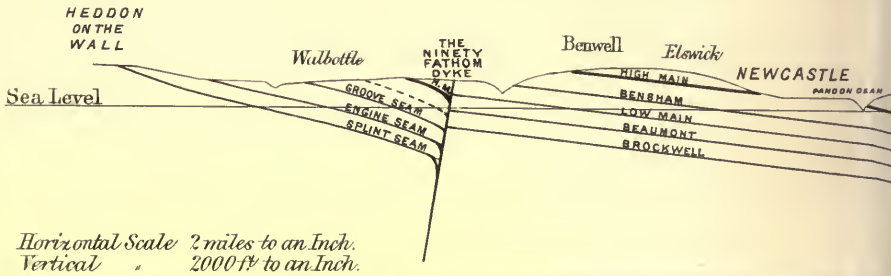
Drayton also chooses to end his wonderful "Polyolbion" at Solway Frith. "Under this Burgh [on the Sands], within the very frith (says Holland's 'Camden') where the salt water ebbeth and floweth, the English and Scottish, by report of the inhabitants, fought with their fleetes at full sea, and also with their horsemen and footemen at the ebbe . . . This arme of the sea both nations call Solway-Frith, of Solway, a towne in Scotland, standing upon it. But Ptolomee more truely tearmeth it *Ituna*. For *Eden*, that notable river, which wandereth through Westmorland and the inner partes of this shire, powreth forth into it a mighty masse of water, having not yet forgotten what a doe it had to passe away, strugling and wrestling as it did,

among the carcasses of freebutters, lying dead in it on heapes, in the yeare of salvation 1216, when it swallowed them up loden with booties out of England, and so buried that rable of robbers under his waves." The Eden in Fife, it will be remembered, is considered by Horsley to be, clearly, Ptolemy's Tinna. As to the latter part of Tunnocelum, there may fairly be a diversity of opinion. The junction of the Eden and the *Solway* cannot be overlooked, on the other hand while this *ocelum* is represented by *Bowness*, Ptolemy's promontory of *ocellum* is represented by *Holderness*. As you are aware, I only use etymology as secondary or corroborative evidence of what may, irrespectively of it, be probable, and I offer no opinion on the questions arising when we have arrived at Tunnocelum.

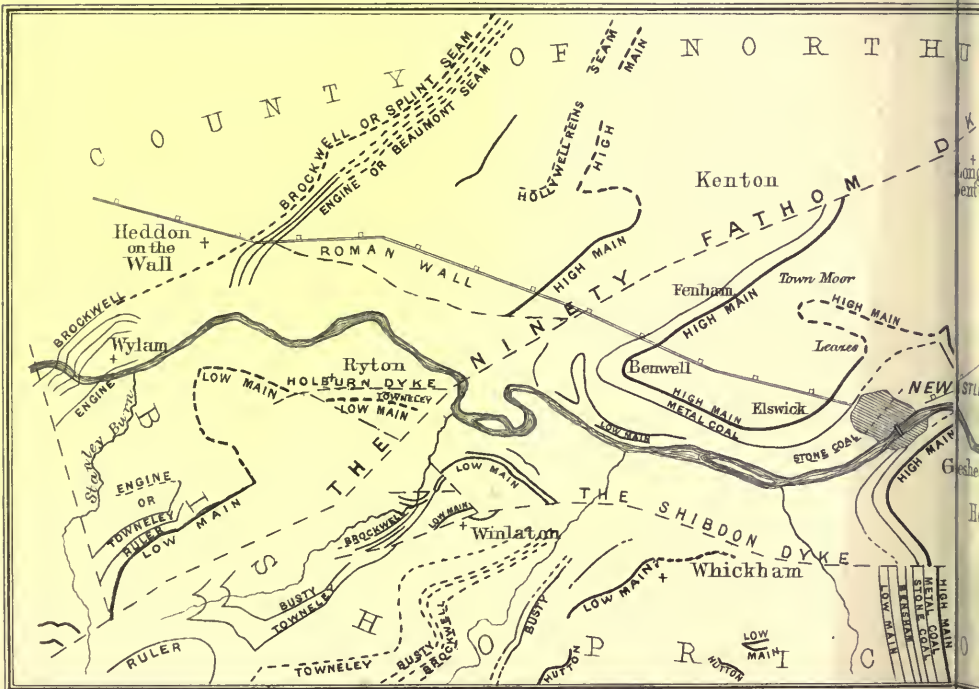
* * * "From hence the shore, shooting out, buncheth foorth as farre as to the Promontorie *Nesse*." (Holland's "Camden," 451).



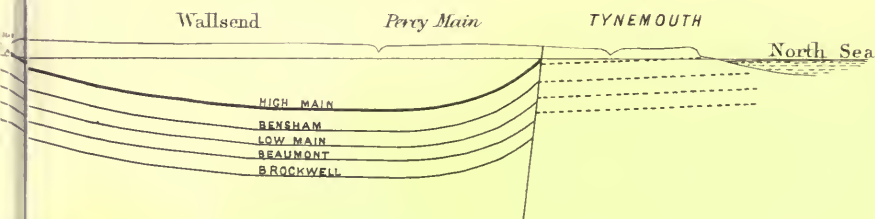
SECTION FROM HEDDON ON THE WALL



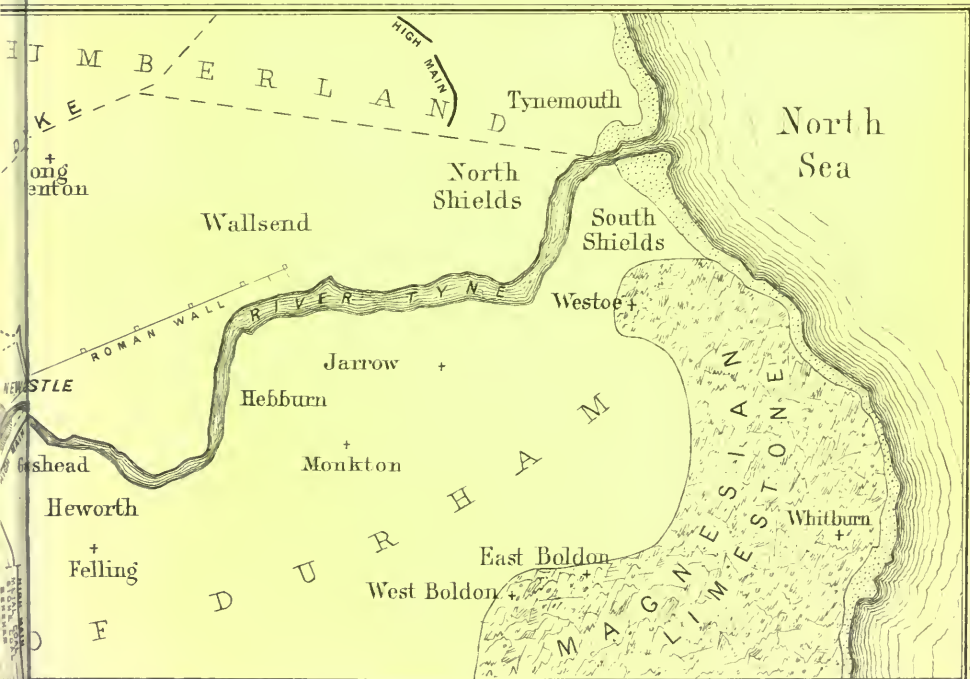
GEOLOGICAL PLAN, Shewing the Outcrops of the Coal



THE WALL TO TYNEMOUTH.



Coal Seams near the River Tyne. — Scale, 2 miles to an inch.





AN ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THE EARLIEST RECORDS
CONNECTED WITH THE WORKING OF COAL ON
THE BANKS OF THE RIVER TYNE.

BY ROBERT L. GALLOWAY.

THOUGH a considerable amount of attention was given to the working of metalliferous ores in England during the twelfth century, the records of this period seem altogether silent regarding mineral fuel. Tin was being worked in Cornwall and Devon, iron notably in the Forest of Dean, lead in Derbyshire, Yorkshire, Cumberland, Northumberland, and Durham, and probably also in Somersetshire and Shropshire; but there is no mention of the working of pit-coal for more than a century and a half after the Norman Conquest, during the period when the severe Forest Laws were in force. Under the Feudal system all the mines in the kingdom appear to have been considered to be the property of the Crown, and the most ancient mining districts, viz., the tin district of Cornwall and Devon, the iron district of the Forest of Dean, and a large portion of the lead district of Derbyshire, formed part of the demesne lands of the King. In each of these districts bodies of miners existed, who worked the mines not by virtue of any charter, but by immemorial custom, and who were regulated by laws and usages peculiar to themselves, and in some respects at variance with the common laws of the realm, the origin of which is lost in remote antiquity.

During the twelfth century, however, we have no mention of the appropriation of pit-coal, nor any record of coal-mines being granted by charter, nor do they figure as a source of revenue in any of the accounts of this period. Grants of wood and peats for fuel, on the other hand, frequently occur.

Perhaps we cannot have a better illustration of the sources of the fuel supply of this time, than is to be found in the charter of Bishop Pudsey to the burgesses of Gateshead-on-Tyne, in the year 1164, which contains passages translated as follows:—"We have granted, and by the present charter have confirmed, to our burgesses of Gateshead, plenary liberty in forestage, rendering [each] in the half-year, that is from Pentecost to the Feast of Saint Martin, for every cart which shall go to the wood twopence, and for a horse twopence, and for a man carrying one penny, for all things which shall be necessary for his own use, save those which are prohibited. Neither shall it be lawful for any forester, within the bounds which have been appointed between our forest and the borough, to lay hand upon a burgess, or upon any one dwelling within the borough, or upon his cart or beasts of burden, for the purpose of hindering him, whether he have firewood or timber or any other thing. . . . It shall be lawful to the said burgesses to have grass or rushes, and ferns and ling, for their own use, wherever they are wont to have them; but so that they sell none thereof. And if a burgess who shall dig turves for his own fire, and not have a cart of his own, shall bring several carts to carry the turves, he may be quit on his yielding, in respect of forestage, twopence for all the carts. And it shall be lawful for any burgess to give of his woods to whomsoever he shall please, dwelling on this side of the Tyne, without intent to fraud; but to sell to no one without the leave of the forester."¹

Instances of grants of fuel might be multiplied, from charters to towns and religious houses during the twelfth century, but, so far as the writer is aware, without any allusion pointing to the use of mineral fuel being met with.

Although the ores of gold, silver, tin, copper, and argentiferous lead, at the period under consideration, and for several centuries after, were regarded as belonging to the Crown, and mines of these metals found in the lands of subjects were liable to be appropriated by the Sovereign or granted by charter to be worked by others, there appears to be no instance until a later period of any claim being made on this

¹ "Early Palatine Charters to the Burgesses of Gateshead." Pamphlet printed at Gateshead in 1853. Text of charter taken from appendix to "Boldon Buke;" Surtees Society, Vol. 25. The pamphlet appears to be from the pen of Mr. Brockett.

account to mines of iron;¹ and at no time, in this country, has the right of subjects to work coal, as such, found in their own lands, been called into question. The exemption of these minerals from the claims of the Crown, may be explained by the circumstance that at the time when the royal prerogative in minerals was most firmly established, they performed a comparatively unimportant part in the economy of the kingdom, and might be regarded as beneath notice.

After the war between King John and the barons, which resulted in this monarch being forced to sign the Magna Charta, in the year 1215, a greatly increased security was given to subjects in the possession of their lands and rights. The confirmation of this Charter by Henry III., and the granting of the Forest Charter soon after (A.D. 1217), set the freemen of the kingdom on a new and much improved footing.

In connection with the subject under consideration, chapter xii. of the Forest Charter is worthy of note. It is translated as follows:—"Every freeman, for the future, may, without danger, erect a mill in his own wood or upon his own land which he hath in the forest; or make a warren, or pond, or marle pit, or ditch, or turn it into arable land, so that it be not to the detriment of the neighbours."² In reference to the concession of the liberty to make marle pits, it is to be remarked that the digging of pits for marle in the neighbourhood of forests, in ground not belonging to the King, was at one period frequently prosecuted in the Forest Courts, and punished with heavy fines, on account of the danger and inconvenience it occasioned to the hunters.³

The circumstance that we have no mention of the working of mineral coal, during the period preceding this amendment of the Forest Laws, would seem to point to the conclusion that it was the prohibition against the breaking of ground involved in digging for coal, which

¹ It would appear from pleadings in "*Quo Waranto*," in the early part of the reign of Edward I., that the right to work iron and also lead was then regarded as among "*jura regalia*," only to be exercised in virtue of a specific grant from the Crown (see "*Placita de Quo Waranto*," Com. Ebor. 7, 8, 9, Edward I., printed vol., p. 211). We find the same King also authorising the application of his treasure to the working of *newly-discovered* mines of iron and lead, as well as of silver and copper, in Ireland, in the seventeenth year of his reign. See the case of "*Vice against Thomas*," by Edward Smirke, M.A. London, 1843. Appendix, p. 116.

² The exercise of the same rights in all other ground in the kingdom is implied *a fortiori*.

³ An Historical Essay on the Magna Charta, etc., by Richard Thompson. London, 1829. p. 351.

operated as the principal check to its employment.¹ At all events, soon after the confirmation of the Forest Charter in the year 1224, we have evidence of the freemen of the realm, without any further concession on the part of the Crown, proceeding to treat the mineral coal found within their lands as absolutely their own property. In the North of England, as in Scotland at a somewhat earlier date, it appears first to have received attention on or near the sea-shore, which fact seems the most probable origin of the name *sea-coal*, by which this mineral was so long and so widely known, in contradistinction to coal proper, or, as it is now termed, charcoal. The variations which its Latin name has undergone point to the same conclusion, it being first designated "*carbo maris*," at a later period, "*carbo marinus*," and still later, when becoming an article of considerable traffic over sea, "*carbo maritimus*."²

The earliest mention of sea-coal, which has come under the notice of the writer, occurs about the year 1236, in a charter from Adam de Camhous (Camboise) to the monks of Newminster, in Northumberland. In this charter sea-coal is associated with sea-weed. The translation of the passage is as follows:—"And I have given and conceded to the same monks that they may take weed of the sea for fertilizing the same land, and a way for freely leading it upon the aforesaid lands, and for taking coal of the sea where it may have been found, from the aforesaid bounds as far as Blyth and towards the sea as much as belongs to the aforesaid lands."³

¹ The claim on the part of the vassals of the See of Durham of the right to work coal, which will be referred to hereafter, appears to be based upon the above chapter of the Forest Charter.

² Modern writers have not hesitated to assert that coal derived this name from being brought to London over sea, but a different opinion was advocated in earlier times. Leland remarks on this subject as follows:—"The waynes of the se coles lye sometyne open upon clives of the se, as round about Coket Island and other shores, and they as some will be properly callyd se coale," etc. *Itin.*, Vol. VIII., part 2, p. 19. This was the opinion also held by Sir John Pettus, who, in his "*Essays on Words Metallick*," divides the different sorts of coal into:—Wood-coal, chiefly used for metals; Sea-coal (dig'd out of coal mines near the sea at Timmuth, by Newcastle); and Pit-coal (in mines remote from the sea), near Coventry in Warwickshire, and in Staffordshire and Shropshire, &c., but these are not useful to metals. "*Fleta Minor*," London, 1686.

³ "Et dedi et concessi eisdem monachis ut capiant algam maris ad impingendum eandem terram, et viam ad libere ducendum eam super prædictas terras, et ad carbonem maris capiendum ubi inventus fuerit a prædictis terminis usque Blithe et versus mare quantum ad prædictas terras pertinet," &c.—The Newminster Chartulary, published by the Surtees Society, Vol. 66, p. 55. There is no date attached to this charter, but it is immediately followed by a covenant between Newminster and Adam, Alan, and Richard de Camhus, dated A.D. 1236.

In this case the sea-weed and sea-coal appear to have been alike regarded as *wreccum maris*.

The purpose for which the sea-coal was intended is not specified in the above charter, but a few years later (about A.D. 1240) the same monks obtained another grant of sea coals from Nicholas de Aketon, for *the forge* in their grange of Stretton. The licence to get sea coals forms the special subject of this charter, which is couched in the following terms:—"Know ye that I have given, conceded, and by this present charter have confirmed to God, and the Blessed Mary of the Abbey, and the monks of Newminster and their successors, in unrestricted, unconditional, and perpetual alms, the power of appropriating coals of the sea in my wood of Middlewood, wherever they shall have been found, for the forge of their grange of Stretton, without hindrance from me, or my heirs or assigns, or my men" &c.¹

The smiths in various countries have shown a predilection for mineral fuel, and have used it for the purposes of their craft in preference to charcoal, whenever a supply of it of a suitable kind was to be had, at a period when this peculiar fuel was employed for few purposes and was regarded with prejudice by the bulk of the community—when, indeed, the construction of the fireplaces in common houses precluded the use of it for domestic purposes.²

That sea-coal was now beginning to receive attention, and to be sought after and dug up in different parts of England, is evidenced by its being named as one of the subjects to be enquired into by a commission appointed in the year 1245, to investigate into encroachments upon the Forest of the King since the commencement of the reign of Henry III. The inquisitions were conducted with great rigour, and occasioned the ruin of many.³ The digging of pits or trenches for sea-coal, and the taking of payment on account of the same and for toll, are mentioned under head 14 as follows:—"Let inquiry also be made touching coal of the sea found within the Forest, and who have taken payment for diggings made on account of that coal, and for toll."⁴

¹ "Potestatem accipiendi carbones maris in bosco meo de Midilwode, ubicumque fuerint inventæ, ad forgiam grangiæ suæ de Stretton," &c.—*Ibid.* p. 201.

² Fossil coal was used by the smiths of ancient Greece, as we learn from Theophrastus. Its use appears to have been confined to them. The legend ascribes the discovery of coal in Belgium to a pilgrim, who pointed it out to a smith. Schook on Turves, p. 223. Brand's "History of Newcastle-upon-Tyne," Vol. II., p. 252.

³ Matthew Paris. "Historia Major" ed. London, 1640. p. 661.

⁴ "Inquiratur etiam de carbone maris invento infra Forestam, et qui mercedem ceperint pro fossatis faciendis de carbone illo, et pro cheminagio."—*Ibid.* in Additamenta, "Inquisitiones de forisfacturis diversis super Foresta Domini Regis." The Forest Charter contains regulations as to the taking of cheminage or toll by foresters for timber, bark, and charcoal, but no provision as to sea-coal. [Chap. xiv.]

Close upon these early references to sea-coal we find it making its appearance in the great mart of London as an article of merchandise. As early as 1253 it had given a name to a lane in a suburb of the metropolis, viz., "Secole Lane," mentioned in a charter of this date.¹ This lane, which was situated in Farringdon Ward Without, appears to have been also called "Lime-burners' Lane,"² a fact which is significant, as indicative of the purpose to which the sea-coal was doubtless applied, the burning of lime being one of the few uses to which mineral coal was put when it began to come into application.

In a roll of expenses for works to the king's palace at Westminster [A.D. 1258-9], including among other things the taking down and rebuilding a chimney of the King's chamber,³ and binding and strengthening the shaft of the chimney outside with iron, we have an account of two purchases of sea-coal for the forging of the iron work. The insignificant quantities bought points to the incipient state of the trade at this time. They were as follows:—

(3rd payment.) . . . "and for one hundred weight and a half of wrought iron, bought at London, for the use of the chimney aforesaid, 25s.; and for three quarters of sea-coal to forge the iron for the aforesaid chimney, with the carriage and freight by water [from London], 3s. 6d."

(17th payment.) . . . "and for three hundred weight of iron, bought at London, with the carriage and passage of the iron work for the use of the king's chimney, 50s.—price of the hundred weight, 16s. 6d.; and for ten quarters of sea coals, for forging the aforesaid iron work, 10s."⁴

¹ *Cartæ Antiquæ* (Chancery). L. No. 20 (in dorso). The text of this charter is given below. Can it be inferred that from it that a traffic in sea-coal formed a connecting link between this lane and Plessey in Northumberland?

"Henricus dei gratia Rex Anglie, etc. Omnibus ad quos presentes littere pervenerint salutem. Sciatis quod dedimus et concessimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris Dilecto et fideli nostro Petro de Ryvall' totum jus et clamium quod habuimus vel habere potuimus in *domibus que fuerunt quondam Willielmi de Plessetis* clerici in Secole lan' extra Neugat' in suburbio London'. . . . Teste me ipso apud Wyndesore' undecimo die Junii anno regni nostri tricesimo septimo."

² *The Survey of London* (Stow's). Ed. 1618, p. 705.

³ In the year 1251, Edward of Westminster was commanded, among other things, that the low chamber in the King's garden should be painted, "and that in the same chamber a chimney should be made." (*History of the Ancient Palace*, etc., at Westminster, by Brayley and Britton. 1836. p. 59.) From a "Household Roll" for a subsequent year, however [A.D. 1259-60], it is evident that wood "billets" was the fuel used by the King. (See *Issues of the Exchêquer*, Henry III. to Henry VI., by F. Devon, p. 74.)

⁴ *Issues of the Exchequer*, Henry III. to Henry VI., by F. Devon. London, 1837. pp. 48, 74.

From "The Customs of Billyngesgate," in the time of Henry III., we learn that one of the duties leviable there was:—"For two quarters of sea coal, measured by the king's quarter, one farthing."¹

Before leaving the reign of Henry III. it may be remarked that no reference has been made to the licences, said by Gardner² to have been granted by this king to the good men of Newcastle, to dig coals in the common soil of the town, in certain places *without the walls*. It seems beyond doubt that the men of Newcastle traded in pit-coal during the thirteenth century, a fact which not improbably was the cause of the licences being assigned to this reign. The supposition that the town had become enclosed by the walls referred to, so early as the date assigned by Gardner to the first of these licences [A.D. 1238]³ seems opposed to the testimony of history, but, apart from this, the evidences that the grants in question belong to the reign of Edward III. can be shown to be of the most incontrovertible character, and will be adduced hereafter.

The earliest direct notice regarding the coal trade on the Tyne, which has come under the observation of the writer, occurs in the return from an inquisition held at Newcastle-on-Tyne, in the ninth year of the reign of Edward I. [A.D. 1281], by order of the King, to investigate into certain trespasses and concealments on the part of the bailiffs and coroners of the town. From this it appears that between this date and the year 1213, when King John had given the town into the hands of the burgesses, at a fee-farm rent of £100 *per annum*, a new industry in coals had sprung up, which was a source of considerable profit to the town. The passage in reference to this subject is translated as follows:—"Also in regard to its being stated that the town of Newcastle would be worth two hundred pounds *per annum* if it were in the hand of the lord the King: They say that the lord King John, the uncle of the present King, leased the town of Newcastle to the burgesses at fee-farm for an hundred pounds, to be paid annually to the lord the King at his exchequer of Westminster for ever, which [town] at that time was not worth an hundred pounds, but now it is so improved by coals, that at times it is

¹ Liber Albus, translated by H. T. Riley, M.A. London, 1861, p. 208.

² "England's Grievance discovered in relation to the Coal Trade." first published in the year 1655.

³ The first day of December, in the three and twentieth year of his reign.

worth two hundred pounds and at other times less; as often as coals fell short, by much it would not be worth two hundred pounds.”¹

It is remarkable that the simple word “coals” (carbones) is employed in this passage. It is also the term subsequently used in the grants made to the town by Edward III. This may have arisen from the circumstance of the mineral having already become such a common article of merchandise at Newcastle-on-Tyne. Elsewhere, both in England and Scotland, mineral coal appears to have been usually distinguished by the name of sea-coal at this period.

Before the close of the thirteenth century, we find the Prior and Convent of Tynemouth turning to account the coal within their extensive property. They were owners of a large portion of the lands bordering on the north bank of the River Tyne. In the year 1292 we have an account of the various sources of the revenue derived from their lands,² from which it appears that collieries had then been opened out in the manors of Tynemouth and Wylam. For the former an entry occurs—“De carbonariis³ annuatim communiter estim’ 61s. 3d.,” and for the latter—“De bracina et carbonar’ ibidem 20s.”

Contemporaneously with these notices of the working of coal we have further mention of purchases of it at various places in the eastern counties. The following are the earliest instances given by J. E. T. Rogers, in his “History of Agriculture and Prices in England” :—⁴

SEA-COAL GENERALLY SOLD BY THE QUARTER.⁵

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-----|-----|---|---|--------------------|--------------------|-----|-----|------|
| Dover | ... | ... | ... | 4 | @ | ^{s.} 0 | ^{d.} 9 | ... | ... | 1279 |
| ” | ... | ... | ... | 4 | ” | 1 | 0 | ... | ... | 1281 |
| ” | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ” | 1 | 0 | ... | ... | 1284 |

¹ “Item ad hoc quod dictum est quod villa Novi Castri valeret per annum ducentas libras si esset in manu domini Regis—Dicunt quod dominus Rex Johannes avunculus Regis nunc dimisit ad feodi firmam burgensibus Novi Castri villam illam pro centum libris annuatim solvendis domino Regi ad scaccarium suum Westmonasterii in perpetuum que tunc non valebat centum libras sed nunc est ita aproiata per carbones quod aliquando valet ducentas libras et aliquando minus toties carbones defecerint de multo non valeret ducentas libras.”—Inquisitions (*Post Mortem, etc.*) Chancery. 9 Edward the First, No. 85.

² Extract from Tynemouth Chartulary, given by Brand in Appendix to Vol. II., p. 591.

³ *Carbonaria*, originally a place where wood was converted into charcoal, at this period was also applied to coal-pits, which is without doubt the meaning attached to it in this case. See the same word again applied to collieries in subsequent extracts from this chartulary.

⁴ Vol. I., p. 422, and Vol. II., p. 333. Oxford, 1866.

⁵ In Scotland, however, where coal appears to have come earlier and more

| | | | | | s. | d. | | | |
|---------|-----|-----|-----|----|----|----|----|-----|------|
| Waleton | ... | ... | ... | 19 | „ | 1 | 0 | ... | 1291 |
| Weston | ... | ... | ... | 18 | „ | 0 | 9 | ... | 1292 |
| „ | ... | ... | ... | 16 | „ | 0 | 11 | ... | 1293 |
| „ | ... | ... | ... | 6 | „ | 1 | 0 | ... | 1294 |
| „ | ... | ... | ... | 5 | „ | 1 | 4 | ... | 1295 |
| „ | ... | ... | ... | 9½ | „ | 1 | 4 | ... | 1296 |
| „ | ... | ... | ... | 8 | „ | 1 | 4 | ... | 1297 |

In the taxing bill of Colchester, “sea-coal dealers” are mentioned, at the close of the thirteenth century.¹

The writer is not aware of any certain reference to the working of coal in the Bishopric of Durham previous to the beginning of the fourteenth century.² In the latter half of the episcopacy of Anthony Beck (who was Bishop of Durham from 1283-1311) we find it receiving attention. The right to work the coal was a matter of dispute between the bishop and his vassals, and the latter referred their case to the king in the year 1302. The document which treats of this subject, among other things, is entitled, “Petition to the King of the Men of the Franchise of Durham, between the Tyne and the Tees, against Anthony, Bishop of Durham, with the King’s answer thereto, or allowance made by the Bishop.” The following is the translation of the part relating to the working of coal, the original being in Norman French:—“And whereas, where it is lawful for every free man to make a mill on his own land, and to take coal mine³ found in his

rapidly into use, the chalders was the measure employed. In the account of the Sheriff of Berwick for the year 1265, there is a payment for 5 chalders supplied to the castle there:—“Item in quinque celdris carbonum mariu’ empt’ ad warnisturam castri cum car’ xvs.” Chamberlain Rolls, Vol. I., p. *43. In the list of stores in the same castle, in 1292, 30 chalders are recorded:—“xxx cuedres de charbon de meir.”—“Early Records relating to Mining in Scotland,” by R. W. Cochran-Patrick. Edinburgh, 1878. Introduction, p. xlv.

¹ Rot. Parl., Vol. I. Quoted in Report of the Royal Coal Commission. London, 1871. Vol. III., p. 4.

² The passages so frequently quoted from the Boldon Buke are too indefinite and isolated to be regarded as such.

It is perhaps scarcely necessary to advert to the fact that the word *coal* (carbo) originally signified charcoal, and *collier* (carbonarius) a charcoal-burner. These words came to be applied to mineral coal and mineral coal workers in some districts, while at the same time retaining their original meaning in others. At and previous to this date, it is impossible to determine in which sense the words are used without subsidiary evidence.

³ The word “mine” is here used in its earliest signification of “ore” or “mineral.” It was commonly so used in the metalliferous districts, and is still employed with this meaning in some parts of the kingdom. Several attempts have been made to explain the origin of this word, of which that advanced by Sir John Pettus is probably the most fanciful. He conceives that the word “mine” is no other than a translation of *meus*, and that “miners” may be from *minores*, being a

own land, there come the bailiffs of the bishop, and disturb as well the lords of the villis, as other freeholders, so that they cannot by the things aforesaid make their profit, against the common law of the land.—There the king doth will, and the bishop grant, that this article be held in all points, saving the right of his church.”¹

In the agreement between the Bishop and the commonalty, in the following year [A.D. 1303], the right to take iron ore, as well as coal, is conceded.²

In a roll of the revenues of the See of Durham for the twenty-fifth year of Bishop Beck³ [A.D. 1307–8], we find mention of a mine of coals belonging to the bishop. The entry—“*Minera carbonum. Et de 12s. 6d. de minera carbonum in quarterio de Cestr’.*”—occurs at two terms in the account for this year. Other mines appear to have been opened out soon after. In 1314 Bishop Kellawe appointed Gilbert de Scaresbek’ warden of his forests, chaces, parks, and all woods whatsoever, *also of mines of coals*, within the liberty of Durham.⁴ The mines are not mentioned in the appointment of a warden by the same bishop two years earlier⁵ [A.D. 1312].

In the beginning of the fourteenth century the use of mineral coal had already taken considerable root in London, being employed by dyers, brewers, and others who required much fuel. For our knowledge of this fact we are indebted to the curious circumstance that the heavy smoke arising from sea-coal fires was beginning to attract attention, and to be looked upon as an intolerable nuisance in the

people of lesser quality than those aboveground! A more probable hypothesis would appear to be that it is derived from an eastern root, the first idea of which is “weight,” and which occurs in the Greek *μυα* and Latin *mina*. In mediæval times *mina* signifying “ore,” *Minaria* was a place where ore is got, a vein or mine. *Minaria* is the form of the word used in the Domesday Survey and commonly during the twelfth century, but subsequently it became contracted into *minera*.

¹ “*Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense.*” Ed. by Sir T. D. Hardy, D.C.L. Vol. III., p. 41. Translation, p. 550.

“Et par la ou il list a chescun fraunke homme faire molin en sa terre demaigne, et prendre myne de carbon trove en sa terre demaigne, la venunt les baillives le evesque, et destourbent auxibien les seigneurs des villes, cum autres fraunkte-nautes, que ceaux ne pount des choses avauntdites lour profit faire, encountre la commune ley de la terre—La veut le roy, et l’evesque le grant que cest article soit tenu en touz pointz save le dreite de sa egliz.”

Mr. Surtees states that in the Parliament of the year 1302, the Bishop effected a reconciliation with his vassals, by the concession or confirmation of several important privileges. Surtees’ “*Durham.*” Vol. I., p. xxxiii.

² “*Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense.*” Vol. III., p. 557.

³ Published by the Surtees Society. Appendix No. 2, “*Boldon Buke.*”

⁴ “*Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense.*” Vol. I., p. 552.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

metropolis. Strangers repairing to the city, to attend Parliament and for other purposes, appear to have been specially struck with the effects produced upon the atmosphere of London by the use of sea-coal, and to have taken a leading part in the demonstrations against it. A royal proclamation prohibiting the use of the obnoxious fuel having produced little effect, stronger measures were resorted to. A commission of oyer and terminer was appointed¹ (A.D. 1307) with instructions "to enquire of all such who burnt sea-coals within the city or parts adjoining, and to punish them for the first offence with great fines and ransoms, and upon the second offence to demolish their furnaces."²

Notwithstanding the great opposition encountered by the new species of fuel in the city of London, its use continued to gain ground elsewhere, and even in the Thames it continued to arrive. There is an account of 10s. worth bought at London by John de Norton, clerk of the king's palace at Westminster, at the coronation of Edward II.,³ in this same year (A.D. 1307), and a few years later (A.D. 1316) we find 60s. paid to the same John de Norton, surveyor of the King's works within the King's palace at Westminster, etc., to purchase iron, steel, and sea-coal, to make divers heads for the King's lances, etc.⁴

From the earliest extant accounts of the receipts and expenses of the monastery of Jarrow, it is evident that mineral coal was now being used to a considerable extent in the neighbourhood of the river Tyne. In the year 1313, a purchase of eighteen chalders was made for the monastery by the steward—"xviii. celdris carbonum;" and in the same year nine chalders were bought by another agent of the house—"Et in ix celdris carborum (*sic*) maritimorum cum omnibus expensis et

¹ Patent Roll, 35 Edward the First, m. 5 (dorso). In this writ the use of fires of "carbones marini" in lieu of "busca vel carbo bosci," is spoken of as a custom introduced "jam de novo." (See Appendix A.)

² A Treatise on the Coal Trade, by Robert Edington. London, 1813, p. 41.

May not the *soubriquet* of "Auld Reekie," which is applied at the present day to the Scotch metropolis, have originated in the use of mineral fuel there earlier than in the inland towns?

³ Brand, Vol. II., p. 254. Petitiones in Parlamento, A.D. 1321 et 1322. "A notre Seigneur le Roi et a son conseil prie Richard del Hurst de Loundres q'il luy voille comandez de payer xs. pur carboun de meer q' Johan de Norton nazguers clerk du palleis, prist de li a Loundres al coronement notre Seigneur le Roi: dont il ad bille del dit Johan et unke ne fut paye, E ceo fut pur carboun pris al paleys al dit coronement." etc.

⁴ "Issues of the Exchequer," Henry III.—Henry VI., by F. Devon. London, 1837, p. 130.

aliis minutis vijs. iiijd.”¹ Among the stores in the castle of Norham, in the following year (A.D. 1314), mention occurs of 40 quarters of sea-coal—“xl. quarters de garboun de mere.”²

As early as 1325 coals were also exported from the Tyne to the territories of the King of England in France, mention occurring of a vessel belonging to one Thomas Rente, of Pontoise, as bringing a cargo of corn to Newcastle-on-Tyne and returning with a cargo of sea-coal.³

In the roll of the revenues of the monastery of Tynemouth for the year 1292, already referred to, there is no allusion to the existence of any collieries at that period in the manor of Elswick. In 1326, however, we find the Prior and his house obtaining possession of a loading berth on the bank of the Tyne at Newcastle, as appears from a charter translated as follows:—“Know all persons, etc., that I, John de Felton, Chaplain, have granted to the Prior, etc., all that land, with all the buildings and appurtenances thereof, in the town of Newcastle, which I had of Master William de Bevercote, Clerk, upon ‘les stathes’ to the Tyne, and whatever could be gained from that water. etc.”⁴ Shortly after this date, we find the Prior and his house actively prosecuting the opening out of collieries, in several parts of their adjoining manor of Elswick. The following are translations of entries which occur in their chartulary:—

“Memorandum that the colliery of Elswick, called *the Heygrove*,⁵ has been leased to Adam de Colewell, from the feast of Saint Martin in the year of the Lord 1330 until the same feast a year turned, for 100s. at the feast of Pentecost and Saint Martin, the first payment to begin at the feast of Pentecost next following.”

¹ “The Inventories and Account Rolls of the Monasteries of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth.” Surtees Society, Vol. 29, pp. 5, 8.

² “Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense.” Vol. I., pp. 599, 671.

³ Brand, Vol. II., p. 255. Rotuli Parliament, Vol. I., p. 433. Petitiones in Parlamento, A.D. 1325, 19 Ed. II. No. 9. “A notre Seigneur le Roi et son conseil supplie Thomas Rente le soen homme lige de Pontise qe come il mena sa neef charge de blee a Novel Chastel sur Tyne et carca arere sa dite neef de charboun de meer en son revener” etc.

⁴ “History of the Monastery of Tynemouth,” by William S. Gibson, Vol. I. p. 138. In a two years’ lease, evidently of this same land, granted by the Prior in 1338, it is spoken of as “quandam placeam terre super quam carbones marini reponi consueverunt.” Brand, Vol. II., p. 255, note.

⁵ This colliery had evidently been in existence previous to this year. We have here the name by which it was popularly designated. In the vernacular, “grove” or “groove” was the term for a mine. A relic of the word exists in the neighbourhood at the present day in the “Groove seam” of Walbottle colliery.

"Memorandum that another new colliery, which Hugh de Hecham¹ once held, in the west field of Elswick, has been leased to the same Adam de Colewell, for a payment of six marks, the year to begin when he has dug it."

"Memorandum, also, that the colliery of the west field, near the road, has been leased to Ralph Bullock, from the feast of the Annunciation of the blessed Mary in the year of the Lord 1331 until the feast of Saint Peter *ad vincula* next following, he paying for it each week 2s."

"Memorandum that John the Carter, Richard de Colewell, and Geoffrey Lene, of Elswick, have taken one colliery to be newly dug upon the moor of Elswick, nigh to the Gallowflat, to be held from the feast of All Saints in the year of the Lord 1334 until the same feast a year turned, for 40s., to be paid at the feasts of the Purification of the blessed Mary and Saint Peter *ad vincula*, in equal portions."²

These ancient memoranda forcibly illustrate the extreme simplicity of the operation of coal-mining at this time. The last, especially, is curious, where a co-partnery of three have "taken" a colliery on Elswick moor, near Gallowflat, the term being for one year, though the pit requires to be dug, and the rent 40s.,³ payable half-yearly in equal portions.

The activity displayed at this period in opening up new collieries

¹ Hugh de Hecham was one of the bailiffs of Newcastle for several years at this period, and was mayor in 1334 and 1335. See Bourne, p. 193 *et seq.* The name occurs in the inquisition at Newcastle, 9 Edward I., referred to above.

² "Memorandum de carbonar' de Elstewyk que vocatur le Heygrove demissa Ade de Colewell a festo Sancti Martini anno Domini 1330 usque ad idem festum anno revoluto pro 100s. ad festum Pentecost' et Sancti Martini, incipiente prima solutione ad festum Pent' proxime sequent'."

"Mem' de alia carbonar' nova quam Hugo de Hecham quondam tenuit in campo occident' de Elstewyke dimissa eidem Ade de Colewell, pro 6 marcis solvend' anno incipien' cum ipsam effoderit."

"Item memorand' de carbonar' del Westfield juxta viam dimissa Radulpho Bullock a festo Annunciationis beate Marie anno Domini 1331 incipien' usque ad festum ad vincula Sancti Petri proxime sequens reddend' inde pro qualibet septiman' 2 sol."

"Mem' quod Johannes le Carter, Ricardus de Colewell, et Galfridus Lene, de Elstewyk, ceperunt unam carbonariam de novo effodiend' super moram de Elstewyk juxta le Galowflat, habend' a festo Omnium Sanctorum anno Domini 1334 usque ad idem festum anno revoluto pro 40s. solvend' ad festa Pur' beate Marie et Sancti Petri ad vincula per equales porciones." Quoted by Brand, Vol. II., p. 255, note.

³ In this, as in all other sums given in this paper, the money of the period must be understood to be quoted, which was about twenty times as valuable as that of the present day. Taking this fact into account, it will be seen that the monks of Tynemouth had already begun to derive a considerable revenue, in money, from the letting of collieries in Elswick.

in Elswick, is indicative of the growth which was taking place in the demand for mineral fuel. An increase is also observable from time to time in the quantities purchased. In the year 1337, King Edward III. having ordered anchors to be made for his ships called the *Christopher* and the *Cog Edward*, he directed the Sheriff of London to provide for that purpose 5,000 lbs. of iron, 200 Eastland boards, and 100 quarters of sea-coal, to be delivered at the Tower.¹

Other indications of the spread of the use of coal are observable in notices to be met with of the existence of collieries at many points of the Great Northern coal-field, as also of the increasing employment of mineral fuel for domestic purposes. In opening out collieries at this period the choicest localities were open to selection, and the seams of coal being found at or close to the surface, little difficulty or expense was incurred in commencing operations.

Out of various references to show that the working of coal was now being carried on pretty generally throughout the coal-field, the following may be cited:—

The earliest notice of coal in Lumley on the Wear, according to Mr. Surtees, is contained in a charter which is without date or witness, but was granted by *the father of* Waleran de Lumley, Mayor of Newcastle 1339. It is translated as follows:—

"To all, etc. Henry, son of Peter de Lumley. Know ye that I have given, etc., to Gilbert de Lumley, all my mine and my part of the sea coals in the land of Great Lumley."²

In the tenth year of Bishop Beaumont [A.D. 1327–8], John de Denhum died seised of half the Vill of Coxhow, with mines of coal there, held of the Bishop by 40s. rent.³

In the roll of the bailiff of the manor of Auckland for the year 1337–8, among the petty expenses, an entry occurs, "Item comp. in xxiiij. quart. carbonum maritimorum empt., pro quodam thorali calcis comburendo, 2s."⁴ The sea coals were not used alone, but in

¹ *Fœdera*, Vol. IV., p. 730. Quoted in "Annals of Commerce," by David Macpherson. London, 1805. Vol. I., p. 517. On this passage Macpherson remarks—"This is the earliest express notice we have of so large a quantity of coals in London."

² Surtees' "Durham," Vol. II., p. 165. "Omnibus, etc. Henricus fil. Petri de Lumeley. Sciatis me dedisse, etc. Gilberto de Lumley, totam mineram meam et partem meam carbonum maritimorum in campo de Magna Lumley." *Sans dat. ni tesmoignes.*

³ Surtees' "Durham," Vol. I., p. 70.

⁴ "Bishop Hatfield's Survey," Appendix I. Surtees Society, Vol. 32, p. 206. A translation of the roll is given in "Auckland Castle" by the Rev. J. Raine. Durham, 1852. p. 26, *et seq.*

conjunction with underwood ; the next entry being—"In bosco col-pando pro dicto opere 7½d." It was customary at this period, and even much later, to use only a proportion of mineral fuel, the new fuel becoming as it were dovetailed on to the old, which it slowly but steadily supplanted.

A coal-mine is mentioned in the ordination of the vicarage of Mer-rington in 1343:—"Necnon et medietatem pecuniæ de decima mineræ carbonum Willielmi de Het," etc.¹ "As also a moiety of money from the tithe of the mine of coals of William de Het."

In the Inventories and Account Rolls of the Priory of Finchale for the year 1348-9, mention occurs of a coal-mine at Lumley, belonging to this monastery. Among the receipts for this year is an entry of 19s. 5d., obtained for coals sold:—"Et de xixs. vd. de carbonibus venditis hoc anno de minera nostra de Lumley."²

In the southern portion of the coal-field we have a curious account of the opening out of a new mine at Coundon in 1350, with the cost of the same and the appliances used:—"Item in 1 minera carbonum maritimorum de novo fundenda in campo de Coundon cum cordis, scopes, et wyndas emptis et factis pro eodem opere 5s. 6d."³

Coal mines at Plessey, near Blyth, are incidentally mentioned as being worked at this date. In 1349 Roger de Widdrington cove-nanted to build a house within the site of the manor of Plesseys, for Margaret, the widow of Richard de Plessis. "The covenant for fuel to be used in this house," says Mr. Hodgson, "was, that she should yearly have ten wain loads of peat, and liberty to pull as much ling as she pleased on the wastes of Plessys and Schotton ; besides two chal-drons (6 fothers) of sea coal at the mines of Plesseys."⁴

The notices which occur in the accounts of various religious houses in the North, indicate that mineral fuel was now very commonly used by them.

¹ Surtees' "Durham." Vol. III., p. 396.

² "The Priory of Finchale." Surtees Society, Vol. 6. Inventories and Account Rolls, p. xxxi.

³ "Bishop Hatfield's Survey." Surtees Society, Vol. 32, p. 219. In the Glossary, "scopes" is translated "probably buckets." From a lease granted by the Prior of Durham in 1447 they appear to have been used for the conveyance of coal. The lessees were "to wirke and wyn cole every day overable with thre pikkes, and ilk pike to wyn every day overable lx scopes." "Historiæ Dunelmensis Scriptores tres." Surtees Society, Vol. 9, Appendix, p. cccxiii.

⁴ Hodgson's "Northumberland," Vol. II., Part 2, p. 303.

In an inventory of the monastery of Monkwearmouth for the year 1337, we find mention of 6 chalders of sea coals:—"de carbonibus marinis vi. celdræ."¹

The accounts of the expenses for fuel at the monastery on Holy Island, show that the bulk of the fuel used there consisted of coal. For the year 1344-45 the entries are:—

"Fifty-seven and a half chaldrons of coals, for the brewhouse, lime-kiln, hall, prior's chamber, kitchen, and infirmary, £4 14s. 5d."

"Brushwood, fewel, and bent bought, 43s. 4d."

In the year 1346-47 the entries are:—

"Sixty-six chaldrons and a quarter of coals, 104s. 3d."

"Twenty-six trusses of hather (de hather) for the bakehouse and brewhouse, for lack of other fuel, 9s. 10d."

"Brushwood bought at Dichard, 53s. 4d."

"To men digging peats at Howeburne Moss, 8s."²

In the accounts of Jarrow Monastery, we find wood and coal bought simultaneously for fuel. In 1346 an entry occurs "in focali empto per tempus compoti videlicet fagotis et carbonibus marinis;" and in the account for the year 1351 the respective quantities of each are specified:—"Item in XV^c. fagots et XXI. celdris de carbonibus emptis xxvijs. iiijd."³

The fuel used at Finchale Priory at the same period, consisted variously of "ling, coals, and thorns;" the entry for the year 1346-7 being:—"Item in empcone focalium diversorum, videlicet bruer', carbonum, et spinarum, xvijs. vijd."⁴

There are numerous entries of purchases of small quantities of sea coals in the account rolls of the bailiffs of different manors in the Bishopric of Durham for the year 1349-50. In the Coundon account the purchase is stated to be made in order to save straw:—"In ij plaustis carbonum maritimorum empt. pro famulis curiæ in hieme, pro stramine salvando 6d."⁵

¹ Surtees Society, Vol. 29, p. 142.

² Raine's "North Durham," pp. 86, 89. In 1358 the house was in debt £73 13s. 4d., of which sum a small item of 14s. was due to the pit owner (*carbonarius*) of Howburne.

³ Surtees Society, Vol. 29, pp. 30, 35.

⁴ "The Priory of Finchale." Surtees Society, Vol. 6, p. xxiv.

⁵ "Bishop Hatfield's Survey."—Appendix II. The terms "*carbones*," "*carbones marini*," and "*carbones maritimi*," appear to be used indifferently in these rolls, according to the caprice of the individual making the return. In the North,

The instances given above may be regarded as sufficient to show that coal was already largely employed in the North for domestic purposes. We are therefore prepared to expect an increased demand for it, and a proportionally increased vigour displayed in the opening out of collieries.

Among situations favourable to the prosecution of mining, the high grounds on the north and south banks of the River Tyne, near Newcastle and Gateshead, presented a combination of natural advantages rarely to be met with. Seams of coal of good thickness and excellent quality were to be found cropping out on the hill sides.¹ They were easy of access and water free; while the proximity of the river provided a ready outlet for the produce of the mines to numberless markets. We have already seen that the men of Newcastle, and the monks of Tynemouth, had begun to derive a profit from the mineral resources of the lands on the north bank of the river. At what period the coal on the south bank first commenced to be worked we have less certain information. The men of Newcastle, in virtue of privileges conceded to them by various kings, disputed the right of the inhabitants of the Bishopric to traffic freely upon the river. Several inquisitions were held with a view to arriving at the truth of the matter. In one of these, before the Sheriff of Durham in 1323, the ancient division of the river was ascertained to have been as follows:—"That a moiety of the water thereof, from Stanley-Burn to Tynemouth, belonged to Saint Cuthbert and the Church of Durham, and another moiety to the County of Northumberland, and that the third part of the same water in the middle of the stream was common and free." The only allusion to coals in the return from this inquisition occurs in the following passage:—"preterea predicti ballivi perturbant omnes cariantes boscum carbones et meremium cum aliis necessariis descendere ad terram episcopatus sine redemptione." The authorities at Newcastle, however, continued to interfere with the traffic of the Bishopric, and in 1334, upon the application of Bishop Bury, King Edward III. issued a writ forbidding the mayor and bailiffs of Newcastle to hinder the mooring of ships on the

where mineral fuel was now becoming an article of general use, the simple term "coal" was becoming attached to it, and was superseding the earlier name "sea coal." Coal-mines were also usually designated "*minera carbonum*."

¹ See the Geological Plan of the Tyne Valley, prefixed to this paper.

south side of the river. In this writ "pisces, carnes, boscum, car-bones, etc.," are mentioned. Even this did not put an end to the dispute, the subject continuing to be a vexed question for a long time after.¹ "The most important portion, perhaps, of the Borough history of Gateshead," says Mr. Surtees, "is that of the perpetual dispute betwixt the See of Durham and the powerful and wealthy Corporation of Newcastle, for the free navigation of the river Tyne, and the right of building quays and ballast-shores on its banks."²

The following allusion to the removal of obstructions in the river is interesting. In the 11th year of Bishop Bury [A.D. 1343-4], John, the Prior of Durham, and seven others, were appointed justices of Oyer and Terminer, to try forty-one individuals [including Richard de Galeway, mayor, and William de Akton', Thomas Flemyng, and John de Durham, three of the bailiffs of Newcastle-on-Tyne] "who, not being Bishop's officers, had forcibly broken and cut the weirs in the river Tyne at Gateshead, Quikham, and Ryton, and had taken away certain vessels laden with corn, coal, and other merchandize at Quikham, to unload without the liberty of the Bishop, and prevented vessels plying or unloading or bringing provisions or goods to Heworth-upon-Tyne, Heberne, Jarou, or Wyvestowe; and fishermen from bringing and selling fish there."³

We have now arrived at the period when the men of Newcastle obtained their first licence from the king, to dig and to take coals and stone in certain portions of land outside the walls of the town, and to make their profit therefrom in aid of their fee-farm rent. In the year 1350, upon supplication made, they obtained a grant in the following terms :—

"The King to his beloved Mayor and Bailiffs and good men of our town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, greeting. Because on your part petition has been made to us that since you hold the town aforesaid from us at fee-farm, we may be willing to concede to you that in the common ground of the town aforesaid, without the walls of the same town, in places called the Castlefield and the Frith, you may have the power to dig and to take coals and stone from thence, and to make your profit

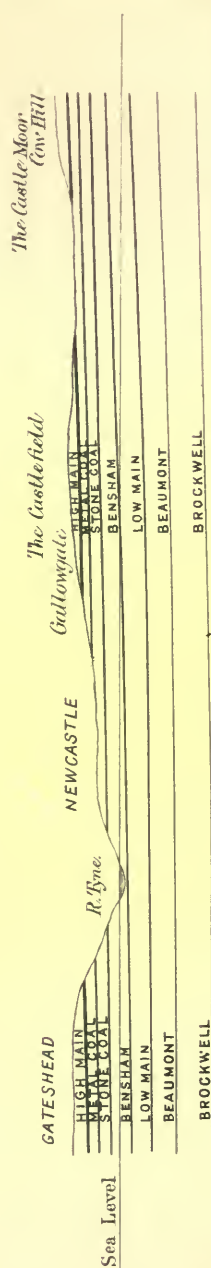
¹ See Brand, Vol. II., p. 10, *et seq.*

² Surtees' "Durham," Vol. II., p. 109.

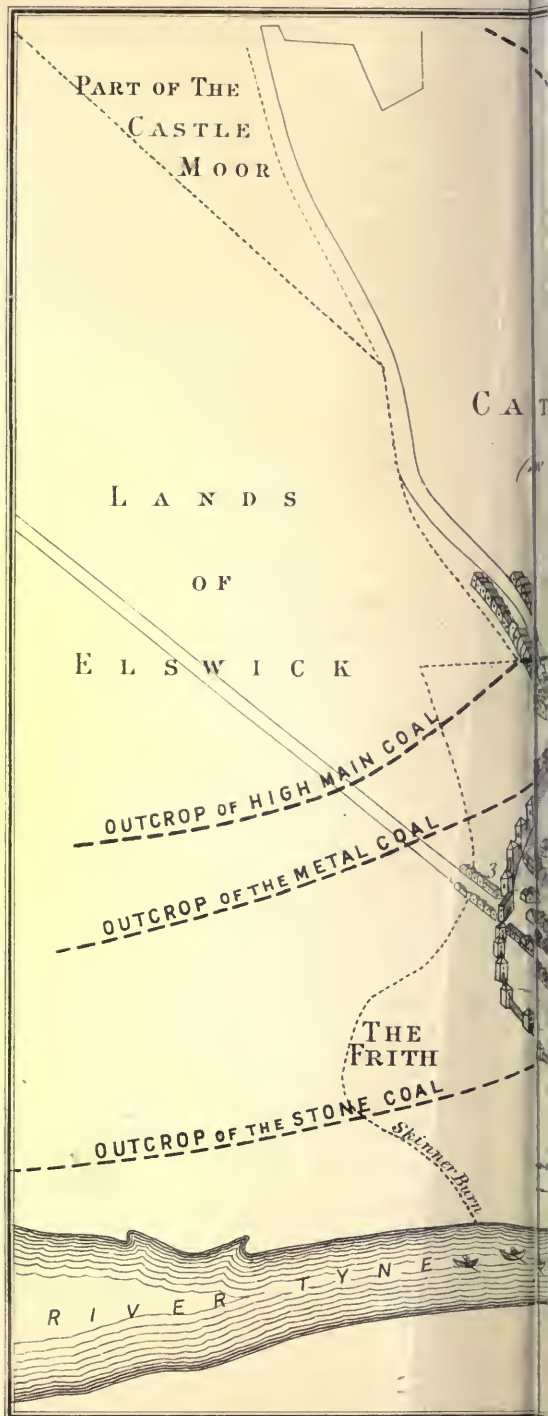
³ Rot. Bury. 31st Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, p. 61.

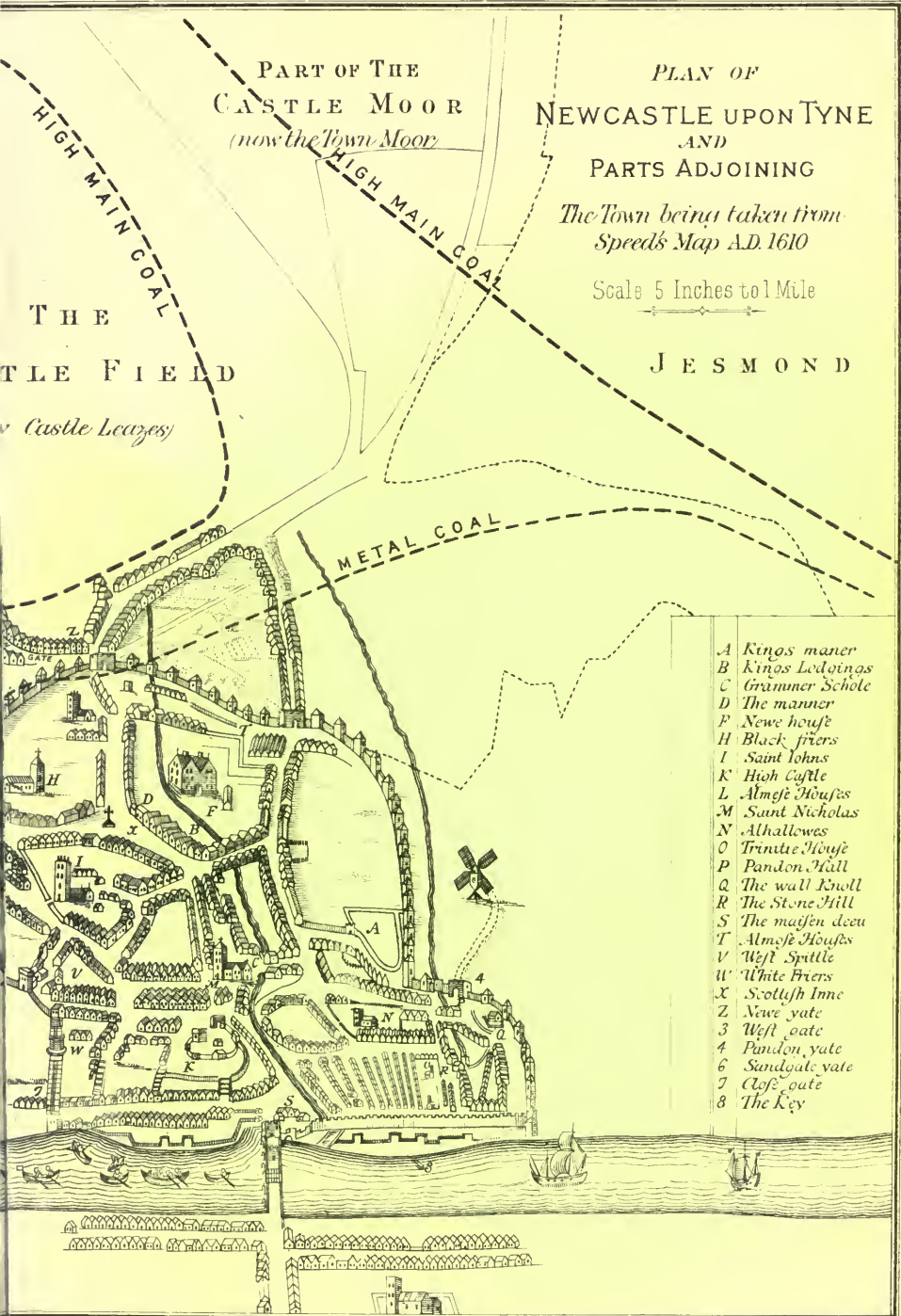


SECTION FROM NEWCASTLE TOWN MOOR TO GATESHEAD.



Horizontal Scale 2 Miles to an Inch
Vertical " " 1000 feet to an Inch







of the same in aid of your farm aforesaid, as often and in such a way as may seem to you to be expedient; we, favourably acceding to your petition in this matter, have caused a licence of this kind to be granted to you. And this, to you and others whom it may concern, we signify by the present letter . . . to have effect during our good-pleasure. Witness as above [witness the King at Westminster, the first day of December], by the King himself and council, and for 20s. paid into the hamper."¹

The above payment is acknowledged in the Exchequer roll for the same year:—"Maiores ballivi et probi homines ville Novi Castri super Tynam dant viginti solidos solutos pro licencia fodiendi carbones et petram in communi ville predictae extra muros ejusdem ville."²

The licence recited above occurs on the patent roll of the twenty-fourth year of Edward III. That this is the licence usually stated to have been granted to the men of Newcastle by Henry III., on the first day of December, in the twenty-third year of his reign, is evident, not only from the terms of the grant, but also from the circumstance that Gardner (upon whose sole authority the statement seems to rest) having given it as belonging to the reign of Henry III., makes no allusion to it under the reign of Edward III., among the rolls of whose reign it is now to be found. Several writers have noticed a difficulty in connection with the date which Gardner has assigned to this grant, but the patent roll for the year to which it was referred happening to be one of the few which are missing,³ the detection of the error was the more difficult. The Exchequer roll for the twenty-third year of Henry

¹ "Rex dilectis sibi Majori et Ballivis ac probis hominibus ville nostre Novi Castri super Tynam salutem. Quia ex parte vestra nobis est supplicatum ut cum vos teneatis villam predictam de nobis ad feodi firmam velimus concedere vobis quod in communi solo ville predictae extra muros ejusdem ville in locis vocatis le Castelfeld et le Frith fodere et carbones et petram inde extrahere et commodum vestrum inde facere possitis in auxilium firme vestre supradictae quociens et prout vobis videbitur expedire: Nos supplicationi vestre in hac parte favorabiliter annuentes licenciam hujusmodi vobis duximus concedend'. Et hoc vobis et aliis quorum interest innotescimus per presentes. In cujus, etc., pro nostro beneplacito duratur'. Teste ut supra [Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium primo die Decembris] per ipsum Regem et consilium et pro viginti solid' R' solut' in Hamapero."—Patent Roll 24 Edward III., Part 3, m. 6.

² "Abbreviatio Rotulorum Originalium," Vol. II., p. 215.

³ "The series of Patent Rolls at the Tower is complete from the third of John to the end of the reign of Edward the Fourth, with the exception of the rolls of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth years of John's reign, and those of the twenty-third and twenty-fourth years of the reign of King Henry the Third, which are known to have been missing for some centuries, etc."—Introduction to "Rotuli Literarum Patentium." Vol. I., Part 1. Printed in 1835.

III. is however extant, and there is no such payment from the men of Newcastle entered upon it.

In regard to the second grant stated by Gardner to have been made to Newcastle by Henry III., in the thirty-first year of his reign, it need only be remarked that it is evidently a mistaken reference to that given to the town by Edward III., in the thirty-first year of his reign. The Patent and Charter Rolls for the thirty-first year of Henry III. are in existence, and in neither of them is such a grant to be found.

Of the two tracts of ground outside the walls of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, mentioned in the above licence of King Edward III., the Frith lay on the west side of the town, and, according to Grey, was a gift to the town from this king "for the good services of the townes-men."¹ The Castle-field in the reign of Edward III. was claimed to have already belonged to the town "time out of mind," although the townsmen appear not to have been put into formal possession of it as yet.

That the difficulties attending the shipment of coals occasioned by the interference of the men of Newcastle, did not prevent the working of the mines on the south bank of the river, is evident from a lease of mines there granted by Bishop Hatfield in 1356. This lease comprised five mines in the manor of Whickham, and was granted to Sir Thomas de Gray, knight, and Sir John Pulhore, rector of Whickham, for 12 years, at 500 marks rent *per annum*. From the large sum paid, and the number of mines leased, it would appear that the working of coal had then already become an industry of some importance on this side of the river also.

A transcript of this lease, taken from the rolls of Bishop Hatfield, will be found in the Appendix.² It is somewhat lengthy and detailed, but furnishes us with some curious information regarding coal-mining in this neighbourhood at this early period. The following are a few of the points most worthy of note:—

¹ "Chorographia, or a Survey of Newcastle-upon-Tyne." First printed in 1649. For the position of these tracts of ground outside the walls of the town, as also the outcrops of the coal seams therein, see the Plan of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and parts adjoining, attached to this paper.

² See Appendix B. It is quite clear from this lease that the Whickham mines had already been working for some time. Mr. Surtees ["Durham," Vol. III., p. 239.] states that a lease of the mines in Whickham and Gateshead had been granted to the above parties by Bishop Bury, and refers to "Rot. Bury" as his authority. There is, however, no mention of this lease in the Calendar of Bury's Rolls, printed in the Thirty-first Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, and it appears from the above lease of Bishop Hatfield that the Gateshead mines were being worked by others.

The rent was to be paid in equal portions at the quarterly terms usual in the Bishopric, and if any payment were forty days in arrear, *double* the stipulated sum was to be required.

No new mines were to be opened out on the water of Tyne, or elsewhere in these parts, by the Bishop or any other person, "save those of the said Bishop at Gateshead which are now going, and the coals from which will not be carried nor sold to ships."

The lessees were to work the mines as far as they could be wrought by five *barrowmen*, according to the view and oath of the chief forester and of the *viewers* (veiours).

They were not to draw from each mine more than *one keel¹ per day*, in like manner as the custom had been in times past.

They were to have a reasonable supply of timber from the Bishop's woods for repairing and keeping up the mines and the *staiths*.

In the accounts of the coal-mining operations of this period we begin to find a drain or aqueduct for carrying off water, spoken of as a common appendage to the pits.

In 1354, Thomas, son of Richard de Fery, leased to John, Prior of Durham, all his coals and seams of coal in certain lands in the north part of the vill of Fery, for thirty years, with licence to dig in any place whatever, and carry on operations for his pits and watergate "in quocunque loco fodere et manu operari pro puteis suis et water-gage," etc.²

A few years after the men of Newcastle-upon-Tyne had obtained licence to dig coals in the Castle-field and the Frith, a complaint was made to the King by the Prior of Tynemouth, of trespasses upon the coal in the manor of Elswick, together with an attempt to damage a sewer or watercourse, from a mine in the moor of Elswick, which mine was the principal source of revenue to the Prior and his house. A commission was thereupon appointed, to ascertain and determine the true boundaries between the town lands and those of Elswick by a writ, issued 26th January, A.D. 1357, in the following terms:—

"The King to his beloved and faithful Henry de Percy, Thomas de Seton, Richard Tempest, John Heroun, John Moubray, and Roger de Blaykeston, greeting. Know ye that whereas lately, on the part of the

¹ Probably about 20 tons.

² Surtees' "Durham," Vol. III., p. 285.

mayor and bailiffs and good men of our town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, petition was made to us, that since they hold the town aforesaid from us at fee-farm we might be willing to concede to them, that in the common ground of the town aforesaid without the walls of the same town, in places called the Castle-field and the Frith, they might have power to dig and to take out coals and stone from thence, and to make their profit therefrom in aid of their farm above mentioned, as often and in such a way as it might seem to them to be expedient; and we, acceding to their petition in this matter, by our letters patent, to remain in force during our good-pleasure, made a licence of this thing to be granted to them; and now, on the part of our beloved in Christ the Prior of Tynemouth, we have learnt that the aforesaid mayor and bailiffs and other men of the town aforesaid, overstepping our said licence so granted to them, under colour of the same licence, have dug in the moor of the Prior himself, adjoining to the said places called the Castle-field and the Frith, beyond the ground of the said town, as by limits and bounds anciently placed there evidently appears; and are endeavouring to cause to be destroyed a certain sewer there to a mine of coals of the said Prior in his moor aforesaid, which is the greatest part of the sustenance of the Prior himself and his Priory aforesaid, to the heavy loss and manifest ruin of the Prior himself and his Priory aforesaid; on which account he has petitioned us concerning a remedy to be provided by us for him. And because, at the time of the concession of the licence aforesaid, it was not our intention, nor is it yet so, for anyone to be injured in his right under pretext of the same licence; being desirous to be assured regarding the foregoing, we have appointed you five, four, three, and two of you, to survey the said places called the Castle-field and the Frith, and the moor and mine of the aforesaid Prior there; and to inform yourselves by an inquisition thereafter, to be held in the presence of the mayor and bailiffs of the town aforesaid should they wish to take part, and by other ways and means which you shall see to be most expedient, concerning the ancient limits and bounds between the ground of the Prior himself and the ground of the town aforesaid there made: and, if it shall be needful, to cause them to be repaired and improved; and in the case where there have been no limits and bounds there, to appoint and place anew, sure, and evident limits and bounds for ever

to remain ; and to certify to us in our Chancery concerning the limits and bounds aforesaid, and concerning your whole proceeding in this matter, under your seals, five, four, three, or two of you, clearly and openly, etc." Witness the King at Westminster, the 26th day of January.¹

In the same year [A.D. 1357], on the tenth day of May, Edward III. granted a charter to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, reciting and conforming the liberties previously enjoyed by the town, and, upon supplication made, putting the burgesses into formal possession of the Castle-field and Castle-moor, with licence to dig and to have mines of coals and stones there, and to make their profit from thence in aid of their fee-farm rent. After a detailed description of the boundaries of the lands granted to the town, the right to work coals therein is conceded in the following terms:—"and that the Burgesses themselves and their heirs may have power to dig in the same moor and land within the limits and separations aforesaid, and to have mines of coals and stones there, and to take out coals and stones from thence, and to make their profit from the same coals and stones and other proceeds arising from the same moor and land, in aid of the payment of their farm aforesaid, in such manner as it may seem to them best and most serviceably to be expedient, without hindrance from us or our heirs. . . . Given by our hand at Westminster, on the tenth day of May.—by the King himself and council, and for a fine of 40s. paid into the hamper."²

On the south bank of the river also the working of coal continued to progress. In 1364, Bishop Hatfield granted a lease of coal in the land of Gateshead to John Plummer, burgess of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and Walter de Hesilden, burgess of Gateshead. The terms of this lease, as recited in its confirmation by King Edward III., are given below:—

"The King to all to whom, etc., greeting. We have seen a certain

¹ Patent Roll, 31 Edward III. Part 1, m. 25 dorso. (See Appendix C.)

² "et quod ipsi Burgenses et eorum heredes in eisdem mora et terra infra metas et divisas predictas fodere et mineras carbonum et petrarum ibidem habere et carbones et petras inde extrahere et commodum suum de eisdem carbonibus et petris ac aliis proficuis de eisdem mora et terra provenientius in auxilium solucionis firme sue predictae facere possint prout eis melius et utilius videbitur expedire absque impedimento nostri vel heredum nostrorum, etc. Dat' per manum nostram apud Westmonasterium x. die Maii.—per ipsum Regem et consilium et per finem xls. solut' in hanaperio."—Charter Roll, 31 Edward the Third. No. 6.

indenture between the venerable father Thomas, Bishop of Durham, and John Plummer, Burgess of the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and Walter de Hesilden, Burgess of Gateshead, made in these words:— This indenture made between the right honourable Father in God, Sir Thomas, by the grace of God Bishop of Durham, on the one part, and John Plummer, Burgess of the town of Newcastle-on-Tyne, and Walter de Hesilden, Burgess of Gateshead, on the other part, witnesseth that the aforesaid bishop, by his steward, grants and to farm lets to the aforesaid John and Walter, their heirs and their assigns, a mine [or seam] of coals within the land of Gateshead, to make a pit and get coals and work to their profit, to have and to hold the aforesaid mine to the aforesaid John and Walter, their heirs and their assigns, for a term of twenty-four years, [they] paying for it yearly to the said Bishop and his successors 100s. at the feasts of Pentecost and Saint [Martin] in winter by equal portions; commencing their term of payment from the hour when they have won a pit from which they can get and have full work of coals from day to day, in like manner as is taken from the pit within the land of Whickham, provided that they do not have at one time more than one pit working; and commencing their term of payment at the next term of Pentecost or Saint Martin after a pit of coals is won in the manner above mentioned; and the aforesaid John and Walter will win the said mine at their own cost; and to do this the said Bishop grants sufficient timber in his park of Gateshead, under the view of the forester, for constructing their pits, and their Watergate, and to make their Staiths in a place convenient for putting their coals upon the water of Tyne to make their profit, at the risk of the said John and Walter, which place will be shown to them by the master forester or some other minister the said Bishop has appointed for this purpose, as often as they shall require to have timber to make these works during their term aforesaid; and the said Bishop grants them a road [or wayleave], convenient for them and all others getting coals there, to the said pits, in going and returning for their profit from the said pits to the staiths, without disturbance from him, or any of his, or his successors; and the said Bishop grants to them that no pit will either be let to farm, or made by him, or by another, within his land of Gateshead, during their term aforesaid; and should any be made

during their said term, that it shall be quite lawful for the aforesaid John and Walter to destroy them without being hindered by the said Bishop or his successors; and the said Bishop will guarantee to the aforesaid John and Walter, their heirs and their assigns, the said mine in the form aforesaid during their term aforesaid. In witness of which things the aforesaid parties have interchangeably set their seals to these indentures. Given at Durham, the first day of April, the year of grace mcccclxiii. We, moreover, holding the aforesaid concessions and demises settled and agreeable, for ourselves and our heirs, as much as in us lies, have conceded and confirmed them in such manner as the indenture aforesaid reasonably witnesseth. In witness of which, etc. Witness the King at Westminster, the 10th day of November, for five marks paid into the hamper.”¹

The lessees of the coal in the manor of Gateshead having addressed a complaint to the king, regarding hindrance and disturbance which they suffered at the hands of certain of the town of Newcastle, who themselves had coals to sell, on the 20th of May, in the year 1367, a writ was issued taking them and all others bringing coals from the Bishopric of Durham, into the special protection of the king. It is translated as follows:—

“The King to his faithful Sheriffs, Mayors, Bailiffs, Ministers, and others, to whom, etc., greeting. On the part of John Plomer and Walter de Hesilden, Merchants leading sea coals to divers places of our kingdom, for the use of the people of the same kingdom, it has been pointed out to us with grievous complaint, that since they, in the leading of this kind of coals, in boats, from the Bishopric of Durham across the water of Tyne to the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and other places in the neighbourhood, have suffered manifold hindrance and disturbance, through certain of the said town of Newcastle who have coals there to sell, which is admitted to result not only in our damage, but also in the no small loss of us and our said people, and of the state, as also the losing altogether of our custom which is due to be paid from those coals in the same town of Newcastle and elsewhere, on this account petition has been made to us by the aforesaid merchants that we may cause a suitable remedy to be applied to hindrances and disturbances of this kind. We, considering that by

¹ Patent Roll, 38 Edward the Third. Part 2, m. 26. (See Appendix D.)

the leading of coals of this kind to all places within our kingdom, the greatest advantage will come to us and our people, and wishing to look to the benefit of the state in this matter, have taken the aforesaid John and Walter and their servants, as also all others leading sea coals from the aforesaid Bishopric in boats across the water of Tyne to our town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and from thence, after paying the customs due from the same, to other places within our kingdom by land and by water, into our special protection and defence. And therefore we command, and firmly enjoin upon you, and each one of you, that you maintain, protect, and defend the aforesaid John and Walter, and others so leading sea coals, and each one of them, not bringing upon them, or allowing to be brought upon them, any injury, hurt, loss, violence, hindrance, or grievance. And if any forfeiture or injury happen to them, you are to cause it to be duly corrected and remedied without delay. Always provided that they do not lead, or cause to be led, any coals without our kingdom, to any place except to our town of Calais, under our heavy forfeiture, in any way in opposition to the form of the ordinance made thereupon. In testimony of which, etc., to remain in force during one year. Witness the King at Westminster, the 20th day of May."¹

The town of Calais, at this time, was the only market out of England to which the staple commodities of the country (including sea coals and grindstones)² were allowed to be exported.

A few days later (25th May), a writ regarding the above subject, was addressed to the mayor and bailiffs of Newcastle in the following terms :—

"Edward, by the grace of God, King of England and France and Lord of Ireland, to the mayor and bailiffs of Newcastle-upon-Tyne greeting. Roger de Fulthorp, John Plomer, John de Britley, and Walter de Hesildon have petitioned us that we may be willing to concede to them a licence, that they may have power to lead sea coals which they have dug and hereafter shall dig in the lands of the town of Gateshead, in the Bishopric of Durham, near the water of Tyne, from mines there, to the said town of Newcastle across that water. We, assenting to their petition in this matter, have caused a licence of

¹ Patent Roll, 41 Edward III. Part 1, m. 19. (See Appendix E.)

² "petræ vocatæ gryndstones ac carbones maritimi." *Fœdera*. New ed. Vol. III., Part II., p. 688.

this kind to be conceded to the same Roger, John, John, and Walter, and therefore we command you to allow the aforesaid R., J., J., and W. to load the foresaid coals into boats on the side of the said town of Gateshead, and to lead them to the said town of Newcastle, the custom due from thence being paid to us at the same town of Newcastle as it behoves. Witness myself at Westminster, the 25th day of May.”¹

In connection with the subject of bringing coals across the Tyne from Gateshead to Newcastle, the attention of the king appears to have been directed to the customs due to him from sea coals. It had now become usual to treat coals in a more wholesale manner, doubtless owing to the great increase in the quantities purchased rendering the minute measuring of them impracticable, or at all events troublesome. The king being led to understand that a loss in the customs due resulted from the estimating of the coals in gross, addressed a writ to the mayor, bailiffs, and certain burgesses of Newcastle, appointing them to take charge of the measurement of coals. The writ is dated 20th May, 1367, and is translated as follows:—

“The King to the Mayor and Bailiffs of the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Richard Scot, John de la Chaumbre, and Robert Reynald, burgesses of the same town, greeting. As we are made to understand that numbers of men of the town aforesaid, cause sea coals, from mines of coals there, to be led in their boats called *Keels* by the water of Tyne to the port of the town aforesaid to ships coming to the said port to buy cargoes of this kind of coals to be taken away from the same port, and to be placed in the aforesaid ships without measurement of the aforesaid coals, and thus because those coals are not measured by our standard measure before being put into the same ships, nor pay custom according to the measure of those coals but in the gross, great prejudice to us arises in many ways in connection with our customs due from this kind of coals: We, wishing to look to our indemnity in this matter, have appointed you jointly and severally to cause all sea coals led to the port aforesaid, to be loaded into ships in the manner aforesaid, to be measured previous to their being put into those ships, so that those coals be not at all put into ships of this kind previous to the measure of the same being settled with you as beforesaid; and to arrest and cause to be arrested all boats which you shall have found at the

¹ Patent Roll, 41 Edward III., m. 19. (See Appendix G.) Quoted by Brand. Vol. II., p. 257, note.

port aforesaid leading sea coals for loading those ships before the measurement of the same coals, together with the coals lying in the said boats, and to detain them under this arrest until you have received further instructions from us. And therefore we command you to be attentive in carrying out and performing the foregoing in the manner aforesaid, and to certify to us concerning an arrest of this kind when it shall have been made, as also concerning your whole proceeding in this matter into our Chancery, under your seals, clearly and openly from time to time. In witness of which, etc. Witness, the King, at Westminster, on the 20th day of May."¹

At the instance of the community of Newcastle and others, the above mandate was revoked in the following month, a certain fixed payment being allowed to the town of Newcastle in aid of their farm from every boat belonging to natives of this country loading coals there, the king reserving to himself only the usual customs due from merchants and other strangers who exported coals.²

Nicholas Coke, of Newcastle, was appointed keeper and vendor of the Bishop's coals within the manors of Gateshead and Whickham, on the 24th day of July, 1367,³ a duty for which he is stated to have been paid 13s. 4d. per annum.⁴

In addition to the mines at Gateshead and Whickham, coal was now also being worked at Winlaton on the same side of the river. There is a record of a large purchase of coal made there by the Sheriff of Northumberland in the year 1366-7, by order of the king, for the works at Windsor Castle. The coals were carried in keels and boats from Winlaton to Newcastle-on-Tyne, where they were re-loaded into the ships which conveyed them to London. The following translation of the particulars of this transaction, extracted from the "Pipe Roll,"⁵

¹ Patent Roll, 41 Ed. III. Part 1, mem. 16, dorso, "*De navibus vocatis Keles amensurandis.*" (See Appendix F.)

² Patent Roll, 41 Ed. III. Part 1, mem. 11 and 12. (See Appendices H and I.)

³ "Thomas, etc. Omnibus, etc. Sciatis quod constituimus dilectum nobis Nicholaum Coke de Novo Castro super Tynam Custodem carbonum nostrorum de Gatisheved et Whickham et ad vendend' dictos carbones et de denariis inde provenientibus nobis respondend' et satisfaciend'. In cujus rei testimonium, etc., patentes quamdiu nobis placuerit duraturas. Dat' Dunelm', etc., xxiiij. die Julii."—Durham Cursitor's Records, No. 31 (23rd year of Bishop Hatfield).

⁴ "The Chronicles and Records of the Northern Coal Trade," by W. Green. Transactions of the North of England Institute of Mining and Mechanical Engineers, Vol. XV.

⁵ 40th, Edward III.

furnishes us with a picture of the coal trade of the Tyne, at this early period, from another point of view :—

“Particulars of the account of Henry de Strothre, Sheriff of Northumberland, of moneys paid by him for the provision and purchase of sea coals for the requirements of the lord the King, bought in virtue of a letter of the lord the King, under his privy seal, addressed to the same sheriff, under date the 19th day of February, in the 40th year of the reign of the same lord the King of England.

Purchase of Coals.—The same accounts for 576 chalders of sea coals by the long hundred bought at Wynlatone, the price of the chalder 17d., £47 17s. 8d.; and for 33 keels and one boat, with men labouring in the same, namely, in each keel 5 men, and in the boat 4 men, each of the said keels containing 20 chalders, and the boat aforesaid containing 16 chalders, employed in carrying the said coals from Wynlatone to the port of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and there loading them into ships, each of the said men taking for his wage 6d., and for the hire of each of the said keels and the boat 12d., 118s. 6d.; and for the wages of one John Taverner, superintending the conveyance and loading of the said coals, as also the procuring and freighting of divers ships, into which to put the said coals for carrying the same to London, namely, from the 14th day of April, in the 40th year, to the 6th day of June next following, for 54 days, each day being reckoned, he receiving per day by agreement 12d., 54s.; and to one Hugh Hankyn, for work and expenses in going to London and staying there to receive the aforesaid coals from the masters of the ships and delivering the same by indenture to Adam de Hertynghdone, clerk of the lord the King, and returning home, namely, for 74 days, he taking per day by agreement 18d., 111s.; and to divers masters of ships for the freight of 589 chalders and 3 quarters of coals from the aforesaid port to London, and there delivered as appears by the indentures of delivery of the same coals indentured between the said Henry and the masters aforesaid testifying to the delivery aforesaid, namely, for each chalder 3s. 6d., £103 4s. Sum of the expenses, £165 5s. 2d.

Sea-Coals.—The same accounts for 576 chalders of sea coals by the long hundred bought and provided for the requirements of the lord the King, in virtue of a letter of the said lord the King, under the privy seal, addressed to the same sheriff as appears above, which

make 676 chalders by the lesser hundred ; sum, 676 chalders by the lesser hundred ; regarding which he accounts in delivery made to Adam de Hert yngdone, clerk of the works of the King of the castle of Windsor, in virtue of the letter aforesaid, by indenture of the same Adam, testifying to the said delivery, by measure of the river Thames in London, 561 chalders and 3 quarters by the lesser hundred [which make by measure of the river Tyne, 504 chalders by the long hundred, as appears by the indenture aforesaid¹], and to allowance given on the quantity aforesaid, according to the custom at London, that is to say on each score of chalders, one chalder, 28 chalders ; and in loss arising from the throwing overboard of coals on account of a great storm which came on suddenly at sea, as also by the excess of the London measure compared with the measure at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 86 chalders and a quarter. By a letter of the King, addressed to the Treasurers and Barons, dated the 24th day of May, in the forty-second year, the matters above written are set forth more at length, and on the oath of Henry himself. Sum as above, and it balances.”²

The measures employed in the sale of coals underwent considerable change from time to time, but at this date the weight of the chalder appears to have been about a ton.

The working of coal was now being actively prosecuted at many points of the coal-field, among others in various parts of the lands belonging to the Prior of Durham and the Prior of Finchale, but it is beyond the scope of this paper to do more than allude to these operations. Before concluding, however, a change which was taking place in the furniture of the domestic fire-hearth, consequent upon the substitution of mineral fuel for the wood and peats formerly employed, may be adverted to. The ancient hearth-stone and andirons were now giving way to the *iron chimney* or fire-grate which begins to appear frequently in the accounts, and which was better adapted to the use

¹ This clause struck out in the original. 504 chaldrons is the quantity given by Mr. Taylor in his translation of the clause, but in the original Latin, which he also gives, it reads “^{xx} Diiii. celdras.”

² “The Archæology of the Coal Trade,” by T. J. Taylor, Appendix No. 2 ; Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1858, Vol. I.

Though the stratum of coal known at the present day as the “High Main” seam, which came out to the surface at Newcastle and Gateshead, afforded coals admirably adapted for domestic purposes, the produce of some of the lower seams was peculiarly suitable for smith-work. This fact may possibly explain why the King obtained the above supply of coal from Winlaton, where the lower seams “crop out.”

of coal. As early as the year 1310 the monks of Jarrow had *ij camini ferrei* in the hall of their monastery. In 1362 we find the monks of Holy Island having a chimney made of their own iron, and a little later [1379-80] they bought another iron chimney for 12s. In 1362, also, the monks of Monkwearmouth purchased an iron chimney for their hall. Regarding the iron chimney Mr. Raine remarks that it was not a fixture attached to the wall like our modern fire-grates, but loose and moveable from room to room. It was so important an article of furniture that it was frequently entailed by will upon son after son in succession.¹ Subsequently we find "1 porr and 1 pare of tangys," that is the familiar poker and tongs, mentioned as appendages to the iron chimney, these implements of the smith's craft having accompanied mineral fuel, in its passage from the forge, into a wider sphere in the "kitchen and hall."

¹ Raine's "North Durham."

APPENDIX A.

Patent Roll, 35 Edward the First. M. 5 (dorso). [Commission to enforce the observance of a proclamation prohibiting artificers from using sea coals in their fires in the city of London and neighbourhood.]

“Rex dilectis et fidelibus suis Radulpho de Sandewyco et Johanni le Blund salutem. Cum nuper ex gravi querela tam prelatorum et magnatum regni nostri frequent’ London’ pro utilitate reipublice de mandato nostro confluencium quam civium et tocius populi inibi et apud Suthwerk ac eciam apud Waplyng et Estsmytheheld habitantium accipientes quod rogorum artifices ipsos rogos qui in civitate et villis predictis ac earum confiniis ex busca vel carbone bosci fieri consueverunt jam de novo preter solitum ex carbone marino concremant et componunt de quo tantus et talis prosilit fectus intollerabilis quod diffundens se per loca vicina aer ibidem inficitur in immensum preceperimus majori et vicecomitibus nostris civitatis predictae quod in eadem civitate et vicecomitatu nostro Surr’ quod in predicta villa de Suthwerk ac eciam vicecomitatu nostro Midd’ quod in dictis villis de Wapling et Estsmytheheld publice facerent proclamari quod omnes qui in eisdem civitate et villis seu earum confiniis rogorum exercere vellent ministerium ipsos ex busca seu carbone bosci more solito facerent carbonibus marinis in factura eorundem nullatenus utendo et jam ex iterata querimonia eorundem prelatorum magnatum civium et aliorum intellexerimus quod predicti rogorum factores predictam proclamacionem parvipendentes et lucra sua incolumitati hominum preferentes dictos rogos marinis carbonibus nec sicut prius facere non desistunt in dictorum prelatorum magnatum civium et aliorum dispendium non modicum et sanitatis corporee detrimentum Nos hujusmodi periculo precavere et incolumitati prelatorum magnatum civium et aliorum prospicere volentes assignavimus vos ad inquirend’ per sacramentum proborum et legalium hominum de civitate et comitatibus predictis per quos rei veritas melius sciri poterit qui in civitate et villis predictis et earum confiniis post proclamacionem nostram predictam in factura hujusmodi rogorum usi sunt carbonibus marinis et ad omnes illos quos inde

culpabiles inveneritis primo per graves redempciones et si iterato deliquerint per hujusmodi rogorum prostraciones puniendos et ad hanc ordinacionem in eisdem civitate et villis et earum confiniis inviolabiliter futuris temporibus observandam, etc. . . . Teste Rege apud Caldecotes, xxviiij die Junii." [A.D. 1307.]

APPENDIX B.

Durham Cursitor's Records, No. 30, membrane 11 (dorso). [Lease granted by Bishop Hatfield to Sir Thomas de Gray, Knight, and Sir John Pulhore, parson of Whickham, of five mines of coals in Whickham.]

"Ceste endenture faite a Duresme le jour de seint Martyn l'an de grace Mil trois centz cynquant et sisme et du sacre l'onerable Piere en dieu Sire Thomas par la grace de dieu Evesque de Duresme duszisme tesmoigne que le dit Evesque ad lesse a ferme a monsieur Thomas de Gray Chivaler et a Sir John Pulhore parsonne de Qwychem et a lour heirs et a lour assignez cynk Miners des charbons dedeinz le Champe de Qwychem del jour de la feissance de cestes tanqu' a terme de xij ans proscheins ensuantz pleinement acompliz Rendant au dit Evesque cynk cent marcz par [an] durant le terme susdit les queux ils ferront paier en l'eschequer de Duresme a quatre grandes termes usez et a custumez en l'evesche de Duresme par owelles porcions par les meyns du Conestable de Duresme que pur le temps serra, par endenture faire entre eux et lui par la quele ils serront descharge devers le dit Evesque a le dit Constable charge sicome appertient et comencera le primer terme de lour paiement a la seint Cuthbert en Marz proschein et ensy de terme en terme come dessus est dit Et si lour paiement au dit Evesque soit aderere par quarrante jours d'ascune terme ils paieront au dit Evesque la double soume de chescun terme qu'ensi serra aderere Et le dit Evesque ne ferra lever ne gaigner nulle nouvelle Miner dessus l'ewe de Tyne ne aillours en celles parties nen quantqu' il purra destourber par la ley ne soeffra par nul autre estre gayne que purra estre en damage ou empairement de les Miners de Qwychem salve ceux du dit Evesque a Gatished que sont meyntenant allantz et les char-

bons de celles ne serront cariez ne venduz as Niefs les queux ils prendront a lour volente a tiel ferme come autres voillont doner pur eux apresque le terme de ceux que sont ore fermers soit acompli. Et les ditz monsieur Thomas et sire John ferront touz les coustages et despenses qu'appertiegnont estre faitz par nulle voile entour les ditz Miners et charbons sique le dit soume de cynk' cent marcz serra neitement paie au dit Evesque sanz riens abatre pur despenses ou coustages et averont deux Miners alantz en le nouvelle champe a lour volente et trois en le viel champe les queux ils ferront meynurer silongement come ils purront estre meynurez par cynk Barrowemen par la vewe et serrement du chief fforester et des veours et ne ferrens treire de chescun Minere forsqu' un Keel le jour sicome adeste usee et fait en temps avant ces heures et ils ferront tuditz meynurer les Miners qu'ore sont alaitez et ceux qu'ils comenceront si longement come ils purront endurrer resonablement come dessus est dit sanz fraude ou malengrie et ils comenceront nul Miner a gaigner de nouvelle sanz la vewe et l'ordinance du chief fforeste[r] que ferra redresser et amendre touz les defautes et trespases des ouverours et autres gentz que serront trespassantz par ascune voie totefoitz quant besoigne y serra ou qu'il soit requis par les ditz monsieur Thomas et sire John auxi avant come il ferroit si les ditz Miners estoient en la mayn le dit Evesque les amerciementz reservez au Seigneur les amendes pur les trespases as ditz monsieur Thomas et sire John en manere come adeste usez et acustumez avant ces heures. Et si damage soit fait a nul des tenantes du dit Evesque a Qwychem par cariage des charbons ou par gaigner des Miners paront ils perdonc¹ le profit de lour terre les ditz monsieur Thomas et sire John ferront restorer a eux tantqu' appertient a la quantite de la ferme sique le dit Evesque ne perdra de sa ferme par ycelle cause durant le terme de dusze ans susditz. Et toutz soit qu'ils eient meinz que cynk' Miners alantz mentineinz ils paieront au dit Evesque cynk cent marcz par an come dessus est dit. Et le dit Evesque veet et grant as ditz monsieur Thomas et sire John que nul de overours des ditz Miners ne serra pres hors de son overaigne d'aler ne de passer nulle part ovesque le dit Evesque encontre lour volente ne le cariage des charbons destourbez par lui ne par nul de ses Ministres qu'ils ne puissent carier lour charbons toutditz quant temps serra a lour volente.

¹ ? Perdront.

Et si ensi soit que par cause d'ascune gurre survenant les overours de les Miners nosont overer a les Miners ne les gentz du paus d'overrer a leur mesons pur la venu des esnemyes paront le profit des ditz monsieur Thomas et sire John soit retret et destourbe qu' adonques ils eient dewe allowance en leur paiement au dit Evesque du tant come appertient a la quantite du temps par jugement des bones gentz choisez d'une part et d'autre que sur ce serront sermentz la verite niger et les ditz monsieur Thomas et sire John ne serront constreyntz de gagner nul Miner en la more de Qwychem tanque l'un champ ou l'autre purra endurrer. Et le dit Evesque voet et grant que les ditz monsieur Thomas et sir John puissent avoir et prendre compaignons a leur volonte que serra obligez ovesques eux au dit Evesque par estatut de marchant et par recognisceance¹ faite en la Chauncellerie de Duresme en manere resonable et come il plerra au conseil du dit Evesque. Et le dit Evesque par ceste endenture lui oblige et ses successors de tenir et garanter as ditz monsieur Thomas et sire John et a leur compaignons et a leur heirs et assignez toutez les condicions et covenantes susditz durant leur terme de dusze ans susditz et les ferra confermer par le Chapitre de Duresme. Et en cas qu' ensy aviegne que les ditz monsieur Thomas et sire John ou nul de leur compaignons denie dedeinz le terme de dusze ans susdit qu'ils voillont et grantont et chescun de eux voet et grant que leur heirs leur executours et leur assignez et touz leur biens moebles et meut moebles soient obligez au dit Evesque et ses successors de tenir et parfournir toutez les covenantz suisditz. Et le dit Evesque voet et grant que le chief fforester que pur le temps serra leur face deliverer merryn de ses boys pur amendre et sustenir les dits Miners et les Estathes selonc ce que resonablement busoignera a gagner et carier leur coustages. As queux covenantes bien et loialment faire d'une part et d'autre en manere come ils sont dessus escriptz le dit Evesque et les ditz monsieur Thomas et sire John et leur compaignons as parties de ceste endenture entrechangeablement ont mys leur sealx. Escrit a Duresme le jour et l'an susditz."

¹ In the Recognizance the lessees admit that they owe the Bishop four thousand pounds of silver, of which they bind themselves to pay 500 marks *per annum*, viz., 125 marks at each of the terms of—the feast of Saint Cuthbert in March, the feast of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, the feast of Saint Cuthbert in September, and the feast of Saint Martin in winter, until the whole sum be paid. It is dated 14th November, 12th year of Bishop Hatfield. See Durham Cursitor's Records, No. 30, membrane 11.

APPENDIX C.

Patent Roll, 31 Edward the Third. Part 1, m. 25 dorso. [Commission appointed by the King upon the complaint of the Prior of Tynemouth, that the men of Newcastle-on-Tyne were digging beyond the boundaries of the town lands, and were endeavouring to destroy the watercourse from his mine of coals in Elswick Moor.]

“Rex dilectis et fidelibus suis Henrico de Percy, Thome de Seton, Ricardo Tempest, Johanni Heroun, Johanni Moubray, et Rogero de Blaykeston salutem. Sciatis quod cum nuper ex parte majoris et ballivorum ac proborum hominum ville nostre Novi Castri super Tynam, nobis fuisset supplicatum ut cum ipsi teneant villam predictam de nobis ad feodi firmam velimus eis concedere quod in communi solo ville predictae extra muros ejusdem ville in locis vocatis le Chastelfeld et le Frith fodere et carbones et petram inde extrahere et commodum suum inde facere possent in auxilium firme sue supradictae quociens et prout sibi videretur expedire et nos eorum supplicationi in hac parte annuentes per literas nostras patentes pro nostro beneplacito duraturas licenciam hujus eis duximus concedend’ ac jam ex parte dilecti nobis in Christo Prioris de Tynemuth acceperimus quod prefati major et ballivi ac alii homines ville predictae dictam licenciam nostram sibi sic concessam excedentes colore ejusdem licencie in mora ipsius Prioris dictis locis vocatis le Chastelfeld et le Frith contigua extra solum dicte ville prout per metas et bundas ibidem ex antiquo positas evidenter apparet foderunt et quandam seweram ibidem ad mineram carbonum dicti Prioris in mora sua predicta que est maxima pars sustentacionis ipsius Prioris et Prioratus sui predicti destruendam facere moliuntur in ipsius Prioris et Prioratus sui predicti grave dampnum et destruccionem manifestam ac contra formam licencie nostre supradictae super quo nobis supplicavit sibi per nos de remedio provideri. Et quia intencionis nostre tempore concessionis licencie predictae non extitit nec adhuc existit alicui super jure suo pretextu ejusdem licencie prejudicari volentes super premissis certiorari assignavimus vos quinque quatuor tres et duos vestrum ad supervidend’ dicta loca vocata le Chastelfeld et le Frith, ac moram et mineram

predicti Prioris ibidem et ad informand' vos per inquisitionem inde in presencia majoris et ballivorum ville predictæ si interesse voluerint capiendam, ac aliis viis et modis quibus melius videbitis expedire, de antiquis metis et bundis inter solum ipsius Prioris et solum ville predictæ ibidem factis, et ad eas si necesse fuerit reparari et emendari faciend', et in casu quo mete et bunde ibidem non fuerint ad certas et evidentes metas et bundas perpetuo duraturas de novo ordinand' et ponend', et ad nos in Cancellaria nostra de metis et bundis predictis ac de toto facto vestro in hac parte sub sigillis vestris, quinque, quatuor, trium, vel duorum distincte et aperte certificand'. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod ad certos dies quos, etc., ad hoc provideritis apud loca et moram predictam conveniatis et premissa omnia et singula fac' in forma predicta salvis, etc. Mandavimus enim coronatoribus nostris in Comitatu Northumbriæ quod ad certos dies quos, etc., eis scire fac' venire fac' coram vobis, etc., apud loca et moram predict' tot, etc., de Comitatu predicto tam infra libertates quam extra per quos, etc., et inquiri. In enjus, etc. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, xxvi., die Januarii. [A.D. 1357.] Per consilium."

APPENDIX D.

Patent Roll, 38 Edward the Third. Part 2, m. 26. [Confirmation by the King of a lease of coal in Gateshead, granted by Bishop Hatfield.]

"Rex omnibus ad quos, etc., salutem. Inspeximus quandam indenturam inter venerabilem patrem Thomam, Episcopum Dunelm', et Johannem Plummer, Burgensem ville Novi Castri super Tynam, et Walterum de Hesilden', Burgensem de Gatesheved, factam in hec verba:—Ceste endenture fait parentre le treshonorable piere en dieu Sire Thomas, par la grace de dieu Evesque de Duresme, d'un part, et John Plummer, Burgeys de la ville de Noef Chastel sur Tyn, et Wauter de Hesilden, Burgeys de Gatisheved, d'autre part, tesmoigne que l'avantdit Evesque, par son senescheall, ad grante et a ferme lesse a les avantditz Johan et Wauter, lour heirs et lour assignes, un myne des charbons dedeinz le chaumpe de Gatesheved, a pusce faire et charbons quere et menurer a lour profitz, a avoir et tenir l'avantdit myne a les avantditz Johan et Wauter, lour heirs et lour assignes, a

terme de vynt et quatre ans, rendantz ent par an al dit Evesque et a les successours cent soldz as festes de Pentecost et seint¹ en yver par oweles porcions, comenceant lour terme de paiement a quel heure qu'ils ont gaynez un pusce des quele ils purront quere et avoir plein overeine des charbons de jour en jour come est pris de pusce dedeinz le chaumpe de Whicham, issint qu'ils neient a un temps forsqu' un pusce meynurant, et comenceant lour terme du paiement al proschein terme de Pentecost ou seint Martyn apres ce q'un pusce de charbons est gaigne en la manere comme dessus est dit. Et les avanditz Johan et Wauter ferront gainer le dit mine a lour custages demesne. Et a ce faire le dit Evesque ad grantez merin suffisant dedeinz son park de Gatesheved par veue de fforester dedifier lour puscez et lour Watergate, et de faire lour Stathes en un place covenable pur mettre lour charbons sur l'ewe de Tyne, pur lour profit faire al peril des ditz Johan et Wauter, quele place lour serra livree par le mestre fforester ou aucun autre ministre le dit Evesque a ce depute, tant foitz come ils enbusoignerent de meryn avoir pur yceux overaignes faire durant leur terme avantdit. Et le dit Evesque lour ad grante chmyne covenable pur eux, et touz autres querantz charbons illeoques a les ditz pusces en alant et revenant pur lour profitz des ditz pusces tanqu' a les estathes, sanz estre destourbee par lui ou nul de soens ou ses successeurs. Et le dit Evesque lour ad grante que nul pusce ne serra lesse a ferme ne fait par lui ne par autre dedeinz son chaumpe de Gatisheved durantz lour termes avantditz. Et si nul soit faitz deinz lour ditz termes que bien list a les avantditz Johan et Wauter de les abatre sanz estre empeschee del dit Evesque ou ses successeurs. Et le dit Evesque garantera a les avantditz Johan et Wauter, lour heirs et a lour assignez, le dit mine en la fourme avantdite durante lour terme avantdite. En tesmoignance des quelles choses a cestes endentures les avantditz parties entrechangeablement ont mis lour sealx. Done a Duresme, le prime jour d'april, l'an du grace, mill' cccclxiiii. Nos autem concessiones et dimissiones predictas ratas habentes et gratas eas pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est concedimus et confirmamus prout indentura predicta rationabiliter testatur. In cujus, etc. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, x die Novembris. [A.D. 1364.]—pro quinque marcis solutis in hanaperio."

¹ (?) "Martyn" omitted.

APPENDIX E.

Patent Roll, 41 Edward the Third. Part 1, membrane 19. [Mandate to the King's officers to protect persons bringing sea coals in boats across the River Tyne, from the Bishopric of Durham to Newcastle-on-Tyne, etc.]

“Rex Vicecomitibus Maioribus Ballivis Ministris et aliis fidelibus suis ad quos, etc., salutem. Ex parte Johannis Plomer et Walteri de Hesilden’ Mercatorum carbones maritimos ad diversa loca regni nostri pro utilitate populi ejusdem regni ducencium nobis sit graviter conquerendo monstratum quod cum ipsi super duccione carbonum hujusmodi per batellas de Episcopatu Dunolmensi ultra aquam de Tyne ad villam Novi Castri super Tynam et alia loca vicina per quosdam de dicta villa Novi Castri carbones ibidem ad vendend’ habentes sint multipliciter impediti et inquietati quod non solum in nostri prejudicium verum eciam in nostri et dicti populi nostri ac rei publice dampnum non modicum ac custume nostre que in eadem villa Novi Castri et alibi de carbonibus illis solvi debet amissionem cedere dinoscitur unde nobis est supplicatum ut predictis Mercatoribus super impedimentis et inquietacionibus hujusmodi remedium congruum apponi faciamus. Nos advertentes per duccionem carbonum hujusmodi ad quecumque loca infra regnum nostrum nobis et populo nostro commodum maximum provenire ac volentes utilitati rei publice prospicere in hac parte suscepimus predictos Johannem et Walterum et eorum servientes ac quoscumque alios carbones maritimos de Episcopatu predicto per batellos ultra aquam de Tyne ad villam nostram Novi Castri super Tynam et abinde, solutis custumis inde debitis, ad alia loca infra regnum nostrum per terram et per aquam ducentes in proteccionem et defensionem nostras speciales. Et ideo vobis et cuilibet vestrum mandamus firmiter injungentes quod predictos Johannem et Walterum et alios carbones maritimos sic ducentes et eorum quemlibet manuteneatis protegatis et defendatis Non inferentes eis vel inferri permittentes injuriam molestiam dampnum violenciam impedimentum aliquod seu gravamen. Et si quid eis forisfactum vel injuriatum, id eis sine dilacione debite corripi et emendari faciatis. Ita semper quod carbones aliquos extra regnum nostrum ad aliquem

locum preterquam ad villam nostram Calesii sub gravi forisfactura nostra non ducant seu duci faciant ullo modo contra formam ordinationis inde facte. In cujus, etc., per unum annum duratur'. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium xx die Maii." [A.D. 1367.]

APPENDIX F.

Patent Roll, 41 Edward the Third. Part 1, m. 16 dorso. [Writ appointing the Mayor, Bailiffs, and certain Burgesses of Newcastle-on-Tyne, to take charge of the measurement of sea coals.]

"Rex Majori et Ballivis ville Novi Castri super Tynam Ricardo Scot Johanni de la Chaumbre et Roberto Reynald' Burgensibus ejusdem ville salutem. Quia datum est nobis intelligi quod quamplures homines de villa predicta carbonem maritimos a mineris carbonum ibidem cum batellis suis vocatis Keles per aquam de Tyne ad portum ville predictae ad naves ad dictum portum pro hujusmodi carbonibus emendis et ab eodem portu educendis venientes carcand' duci et absque mensuracione carbonum predictorum in navibus predictis poni faciunt et sic pro eo quod carbonem illi mensuracione standardi nostri antequam in eisdem navibus ponuntur non mensurantur nec juxta mensuram eorundem carbonum set in grosso custumantur grave prejudicium nobis de custumis nostris de hujusmodi carbonibus debitis multipliciter generatur: Nos indemnitati nostre prospicere volentes in hac parte Assignavimus vos conjunctim et divisim ad omnes carbonem maritimos ad portum predictum ad naves ibidem in forma predicta carcand' ducendos antequam in navibus illis ponantur mensurari faciend' Ita quod carbonem illi in hujusmodi navibus prinsquam de mensura eorundem vobis constiterit nullatenus ponantur ut predictum est et ad omnes batellos quos carbonem maritimos ad naves illas carcand' ante mensuracionem eorundem carbonum ad portum predictum inveneritis ducentes una cum carbonibus in dictis batellis existentibus arestand' et arestari faciend' et eos sub hujusmodi aresto quousque aliud a nobis habueritis in mandatis detinend'. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod circa premissa faciend' et exequand' intentatis in forma predicta. Nos de hujusmodi aresto cum factum

fuerit ac de toto facto vestro in hac parte in Cancellaria nostra sub sigillis vestris reddatis distincte et aperte de tempore in tempus cerciores. In enjus, etc. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium xx die Maii. [A.D. 1367.] Per consilium."

APPENDIX G.

Patent Roll, 41 Edward the Third. M. 19. [Mandate to the Mayor and Bailiffs of Newcastle-on-Tyne, to allow certain parties to load sea coals into boats on the Gateshead side of the River Tyne, and to lead them across to Newcastle-on-Tyne.]

"Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie majori et ballivis ville Novi Castri super Tynam salutem. Supplicarunt nobis Rogerus de Fulthorp, Johannes Plomer, Johannes de Britley, et Walterus de Hesildon ut eis licentiam concedere velimus quod ipsi carbones maritimos quos ipsi in campis ville de Gateshead in episcopatu Dunelmen' prope aquam de Tyne in mineris ibidem foderint et exnunc fodient, ad dictam villam Novi Castri ultra aquam illam ducere possint ad commodum suum inde ibidem faciend' Nos eorum supplicationi in hac parte annuentes licentiam hujusmodi eisdem Rogero, Johanni, Johanni, et Waltero duximus concedend' et ideo vobis mandamus quod predictos R.J.J. et W. carbones predictos in aqua predicta ex parte dicte ville de Gateshead in batellis carcare et usque ad dictam villam Novi Castri ducere permittatis solvend' nobis apud eandem villam Novi Castri custum' inde debit' prout decet. Teste meipso apud Westmon' vicesimo quinto die Maii."¹ [A.D. 1367.]

APPENDIX H.

Patent Roll, 41 Edward the Third. Part 1, m. 11. [General revocation of the above Letters Patent, regarding the measurement of sea coals.]

"Rex omnibus ad quos etc. salutem. Cum nuper dato nobis intelligi quod quamplures homines de villa Novi Castri super Tynam

¹ Brand's History of Newcastle. Vol. II., p. 257. Note.

carbones maritimos a mineris carbonum ibidem cum batellis suis vocatis Kelis per aquam de Tyne ad portum ville predictæ ad naves ibidem pro hujusmodi carbonibus educendis venientes duci et absque mesuracione carbonum eorundem in dictis navibus poni fecerunt et sic pro eo quod carbonēs illi per standardum nostrum antequam in navibus illis ponebantur mesurati non fuerunt nec juxta mensuram standardi set in grosso custumabantur de custumis nostris carbonum illorum decepti eramus assignaverimus ballivos dicte ville Novi Castri et quosdam alios ad omnes carbonēs maritimos ad portum predictum extunc ducendos mensurari faciend' prout in literis nostris patentibus inde confectis plenius continetur et quia tam per literas sigillo communitatis dicte ville Novi Castri signatas nobis directas quam alias per testimonium fidedignorum sumus plenius informati quod dicte litere de dictis carbonibus amensurandis ad procuracionem dominorum minerarum carbonum illorum et Mercatorum eosdem carbonēs ab eisdem dominis emencium in dicta villa vendend' ut majus proficuum et lucrum de dictis carbonibus si per standardum amensurati fuissent quam si in dictis batellis vocatis Kelis sine amensuracione prout antea fieri consuevit positi essent habuerunt percipere possent impetrate extiterunt quod si toleraretur tam in nostri quam tocius populi nostri grave dispendium et jacturam presertim cum carbonēs illos undique per totum regnum nostrum ex diversis causis necessario duci et cariari oporteat cederet manifeste et quod custuma aliqua de hujusmodi carbonibus nisi tantum quoddam certum¹ quod communitas dicte ville in auxilium firme ejusdem de quolibet batello carbonibus sic carcato percipiunt de indigenis nobis minime debetur Nos volentes indemnitati nostre et rei publice in hac parte providere dictas literas nostras patentes pro amensuracione de carbonibus illis faciend' sic factas penitus revocamus et adnullamus per presentes. Proviso quod Mercatores et alii extranei in educione carbonum hujusmodi a portu predicto custumas nobis solvant prout hactenus facere consueverunt. In cujus, etc. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, xxij die Junii. [A.D. 1367.] Per ipsum Regem et consilium."

¹ A "fixed payment."

APPENDIX I.

Patent Roll, 41 Edward the Third. Part 1, m. 12. [Letter addressed to the Mayor and Bailiffs of Newcastle-on-Tyne on the same subject as the preceding.]

“Rex dilectis sibi Majori et Ballivis ville nostre Novi Castri super Tynam salutem. Cum nuper dato nobis intelligi quod quamplures homines de villa predicta carbones maritimos a mineris carbonum ibidem cum batellis suis vocatis Kelys per aquam de Tyne ad portum ville predictæ ad naves ibidem pro hujusmodi carbonibus educendis venientes duci et absque mensuracione carbonum eorundem in dictis navibus poni fecerunt et sic pro eo quod carbones illi per standardum nostrum antequam in navibus illis ponebantur mensurati non fuerunt nec juxta mensuram standardi set in grosso custumabantur de custumis nostris carbonum illorum decepti eramus assignaverimus vos et quosdam alios ad omnes carbones maritimos ad portum predictum extunc ducendos mensurari faciend’ et vobis mandaverimus quod in villa predicta publice proclamari et ex parte nostra firmiter inhiberi faceretis, ne quis cum batellis suis carbones maritimos ad portum predictum ad naves inde ibidem carcandas priusquam de mensura eorundem carbonum juxta standardum et non in grosso per estimationem custumarentur vobis constiterit sub forisfactura batellorum et carbonum predictorum ac omnium aliorum que nobis forisfacere posset duceret vel duci faceret clam vel palam prout in literis et mandato nostro predictis plenius continetur, et quia tam per literas sigillo communitatis dicte ville Novi Castri signatas nobis directas quam alias per testimonium fidedignorum sumus plenius informati quod dicti litere de dictis carbonibus amensurandis ad procuracionem dominorum minerarum carbonum illorum et Mercatorum eosdem carbones ab eisdem dominis emencium in dicta villa vendend’ ut majus proficuum et lucrum de dictis carbonibus si per standardum amensurati fuissent quam si in dictis batellis vocatis Kelys sine amensuracione prout antea fieri consuevit positi essent habuerunt percipere possent imppetrate exstiterunt quod si toleraretur tam in nostri quam tocius populi nostri grave dispendium et jacturam presertim cum carbones illos undique per totum regnum nostrum ex diversis causis necessario

duci et cariari oporteat cederet manifeste, et quod custuma aliqua de hujusmodi carbonibus nisi tantum quoddam certum quod communitas dicte ville in auxilium firme ejusdem ville de quolibet batello carbonibus sic carcato percipiunt de indigenis nobis minime debetur Nos volentes indemnitati nostre et rei publice in hac parte providere litéras et mandatum nostrum predicta pro amensuracione de carbonibus illis faciend' sic facta tenore presencium revocand' duximus penitus et adnulland'. Proviso quod Mercatores et alii extranei in educcionem carbonum hujusmodi a portu predicto custumas nobis per ipsos inde debitas nobis solvant prout hactenus facere consueverunt. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod execucioni literarum et mandati nostri predictorum et quibuscumque aliis sic directorum ulterius faciend' omnino supersedeatis. Et si quid inde feceritis vel per alios factum fuerit id sine dilacione revocari et adnullari faciatis. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, xxiiij die Junii. [A.D. 1367.] Per ipsum Regem et consilium."

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EXCAVATION OF THE SOUTH GATEWAY OF THE STATION OF CILURNUM.

BY THE REV. J. COLLINGWOOD BRUCE. READ AUGUST 27TH, 1879.

IN the month of June last, Mr. Clayton, the proprietor of the estate on which it stands, excavated the southern gateway of the Roman station of CILURNUM, the modern Chesters, on the line of Hadrian's Wall. Being resident in the immediate neighbourhood at the time, I had the opportunity of daily inspecting the work as it proceeded; and I now, at Mr. Clayton's request, propose to give an account of the results which have been obtained.

As is well known to the members of this Society, many portions of this station had previously been laid bare, rendering us familiar with its northern and two eastern gateways, with the buildings of its prætorium, and the forum.

The southern gateway, which was selected as the next spot to be subjected to the spade of the excavator, did not before the commencement of operations promise important results. Its position was feebly indicated by a slight depression in the centre of the southern rampart of the station, and this rampart did not rise much above the general level of the adjoining ground.

As one result of the excavation, we have before us the entire design of the gateway of a Roman station, which is perfect in all its parts. The carefully executed Plan with which Mr. Clayton has provided us exhibits its form. The whole of the masonry is remarkably solid and substantial, the workmanship being of the very best kind. Many of the stones exhibit on their face a kind of feathered tooling, similar to that which we find on the stones used in forming the land abutment of the Roman bridge at this station.

The plan of the gateway is similar to that of the gateways of the stations in general; but this, as well as the other principal gateways of

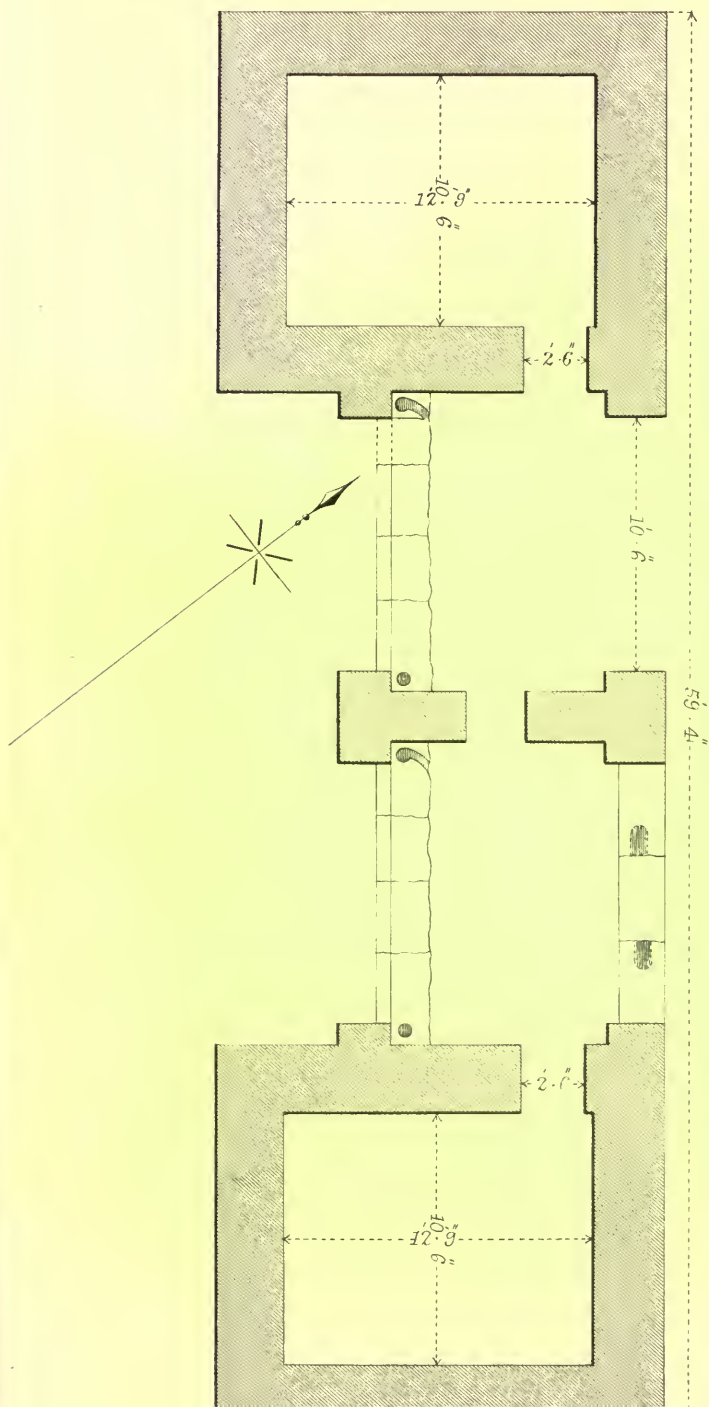
the station, is larger and more massive than those of some of the other stations. Thus, in this gateway the space between the pivot holes of each entrance is eleven feet nine inches, whereas at BORCOVICUS it is only nine feet six inches. This circumstance is of some importance. Several facts lead to the conclusion that the station of Cilurnum was erected by Agricola, soon after his subjugation of the country of the Brigantes. That general, we know, wished to exhibit to the natives of the North of England the resources of Rome, and to enamour them with her arts. Certainly in this station he has left nothing undone to impress them favourably. As the stations which he left in his rear stood alone and were not connected by a wall, it was necessary that they should be peculiarly strong and able to resist attack. Tacitus tells us that none of them were ever successfully assailed. (Agricola, cap. xxi., xxii.)

The main gateways of a Roman station had two portals, and on each side of them was a guard room for the accommodation of the soldiery who kept watch and ward. Each entrance was spanned by an arch both on its outer and inner face. None of the voussoirs have been found belonging to the arches of this gate, but the massive stones remain, and are shown in the Plan, which formed the solid basis on which it was upreared. As will be seen in the Plan, the wall separating the two portals has had a passage-way left in it, by means of which the soldiers on guard could more freely communicate with each other. Each entrance has been closed on its outer face by two leaved gates. These gates have moved on wooden pivots, the lower part of which has been shod with a circle of iron. In this instance the iron cylinders were found sticking fast in the pivot holes, traces of the wood which they had encircled being found inside them. The pivot on which the upper part of the gate moved has been received into a circular aperture bored right through a large stone built into the upper part of the structure. A stone of this kind is now lying amongst the *debris* of this gate. It has evidently been twice used for the purpose referred to, as it has two perforations through it; the one is fractured, the other has a diameter of seven inches. The doors which closed the gates have evidently been strengthened with iron bars and studded with iron nails, considerable remains of oxydised iron, suggestive of such a use, having been found. As was usually the

SOUTH GATEWAY, CILURNUM.

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 10 20 Feet.

Scale.





case, the doors when closed have struck against a ridge of masonry rising three or four inches above the sill of the door. This ridge is increased in height in the middle.

Immediately in front of the gates is a gutter cut out of solid stone which has been covered over with flags.

In excavating all the portions of this work, vast quantities of stone and rubbish were met with, as well as bones and horns of cattle and deer, and fragments of Samian ware and other pottery. In the eastern guard chamber two layers of wood ashes, sometimes as thick as three inches, were encountered. Similar appearances are met with whenever any of the buildings of the Wall are excavated.

In the eastern guard chamber a quantity of thick plaster was found, with which no doubt the walls were coated. The plaster is covered with fresco painting, the colours used being chiefly brown, black, red, and yellow.

The number of coins discovered is inconsiderable; many of them are so worn and defaced as to be illegible. Of those which can be identified, the earliest is of Vespasian, and the latest of Postumus; they are all of brass. There was also discovered the head of a statue neatly executed in stone. In the highest course in the eastern wall of the eastern guard chamber is a stone bearing the inscription, *LEG VI VI—Legio sexta, victrix*: the Sixth Legion the Victorious. The lettering of the inscription is feeble, and of a character indicating a late date. The stone on which it is carved differs from the other stones of the apartment in which it is placed. It was probably an after insertion, and was not placed there until the time of Severus at the earliest. The Sixth Legion, as we are all aware, did not come to Britain until the time of Hadrian.

But the most important of the results of this excavation was the discovery of two portions of a bronze tablet giving the privileges of Roman citizenship and the right of marriage to certain troops which were then serving in Britain. This interesting and important document was found in the eastern guard room, amongst the *debris*, about four feet above the level of the original floor.

Every reader of the New Testament is aware of the importance that was attached in the times of the early emperors to the privilege of being a citizen of Rome—that it was a privilege possessed not only

by the natives of the Eternal City or even of Italy, but by the denizens of foreign parts—and that it was a privilege which descended from father to son. “And as they bound him with thongs, Paul said unto the centurion that stood by, Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman and uncondemned? When the centurion heard that, he went and told the chief captain, saying, Take heed what thou doest: for this man is a Roman. Then the chief captain came and said unto him, Tell me, art thou a Roman? He said, Yea. And the chief captain answered, With a great sum obtained I this freedom. And Paul said, But I was free born.” On reading this passage we cannot but be struck, among other things, with the readiness with which the apostle’s assertion that he was a Roman citizen was received: his word does not seem for a moment to have been doubted. One fact which is stated in the life of Claudius by Suetonius perhaps accounts for this—“*Civitatem Romanam usurpantes in campo Esquilino securi percussit.*” Cap. xxv.—“Those that falsely pretended to the freedom of Rome he beheaded on the Esquiline.”

We shall presently see the care which the authorities at Rome took that pretenders might be easily detected, and that persons entitled to the citizenship might without any difficulty make good their claims.

On three previous occasions bronze tablets or portions of them have been found in England, conferring upon certain troops serving in Britain the rights of citizenship. Two of these belonging to the reign of Trajan and the third belonging to the reign of Hadrian, are preserved in the British Museum. The earliest of them, which was found at Malpas, in Cheshire, bears date A.D. 104. Fac-simile engravings of these, prepared with great care, are to be found in the “*Lapidarium Septentrionale*” of this Society, to which work they were presented by our noble patron, his Grace the Duke of Northumberland. In addition to these three diplomas the fragment of another tablet of like character seems to have been found at Walcot, near Bath, in 1815. Mr. Charles Lysons mentioned the fact of its discovery, and exhibited a drawing of it to the Society of Antiquaries, but the original has for some time been lost sight of. The fragment is a very small one, and is chiefly occupied with the formal part of the document. Through the kindness of our colleague, Mr. C. Roach Smith, I am enabled to submit to the Society a “rubbing” taken from the plate

itself. The fragment contains one word, *PROCVLEIA*, which will be useful to us in discussing the Chesters tablet.

These tablets are generally called *Tabulæ Honestæ Missionis*, because, in addition to conferring the citizenship with the right of marriage, they testify that the individuals obtaining it have completed their full time of military service and have obtained an honourable discharge. More briefly they are termed military diplomas. They are literally doubled-up documents. They consist of two small plates of bronze which have been fastened together at their lower extremities, probably by thongs of leather, and so folded together for greater convenience of carriage. The deed was engraved both on the outside and inside of the plates. Being thus in duplicate, there could be no doubt as to the correctness of any word or expression; and in order to show the individual's right to the envied privilege it was not necessary to open the document—a glance at its outside was sufficient. The lettering of the outside is usually more neatly and carefully executed than that of the interior. The lines of the interior are at right angles to those of the exterior; and more contractions are generally used in the interior copy than in the exterior.

These documents uniformly begin by giving at full length the names, titles, and genealogy of the emperor issuing the decree. Then follow the names of the troops on whom the privilege is conferred; *alæ* or cavalry regiments being first mentioned, and after them *cohortes* or infantry. Both *alæ* and cohorts are usually given in numerical order. Then follows the place where they are serving; and after that comes the important stipulation, that only those receive the citizenship who have honourably completed twenty-five campaigns at least. Along with the rights of citizenship the right of marriage was conferred, thus rendering legal the marriages which had already been contracted or which might afterwards take place. It was further declared that the children which were the fruits of such marriages should also be free; but it was expressly stipulated that each man should have only one wife at a time—“*dumtaxat singuli singulas.*” Next there follows the date of the decree, with the name of the consuls for the year, and after that the name of the person to whom the diploma is specially directed. Then we have a statement of the place, generally some temple in Rome, where the original document

of which this is a copy was deposited for inspection ; and lastly, the names of seven witnesses who bear testimony to the fact that this diploma is a faithful and revised copy of the original. The whole on being folded up was sealed with the seals of the witnesses named in it.

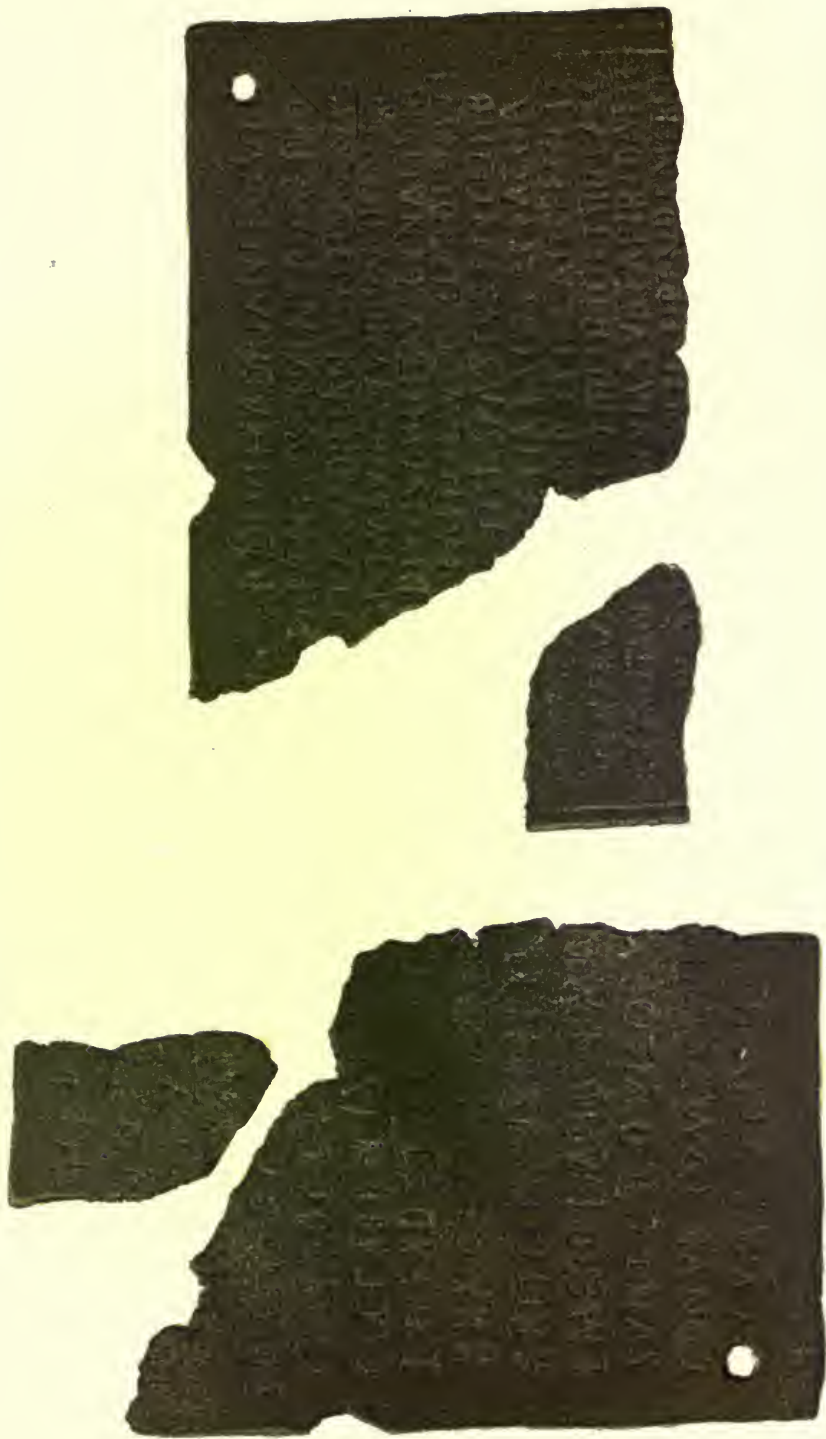
It is the opinion of some antiquaries of eminence that an abridged copy of the decree was sent to every individual interested in it, who would preserve it with care for the benefit of his posterity. Throughout the whole Roman world only about sixty of these documents are known to exist, and these have been amply discussed by that profound scholar Professor Mommsen, in the third volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, issued under the auspices of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Prussia. Of these fourteen have been found in Italy; fifteen in Pannonia, which corresponds pretty nearly with the modern Hungary; three in Germany, upper and lower; and six in Dacia, which embraces the modern Wallachia, Transylvania, and Moldavia. Gaul has yielded only one.

The bronze tablet which we are now to examine consists of two pieces; one considerable piece and a small fragment.

When the fragments were delivered by the excavator, William Tailford, to Mr. Clayton, their nature was at once discerned, but only a few of the letters were distinctly legible. As the document promised to be of much importance we did not venture to attempt to remove the oxide of copper and earthy matters which covered the plates, but sought the aid of Mr. Ready, of the British Museum, an operator of great skill and experience. Every letter is now perfectly legible, and though we have only one leaf of the diploma (and some portions of it are wanting), we are able, with a single exception, to make out the names of all the troops mentioned in it. The parts that are wanting are chiefly the formal parts, which we can in a great measure restore from other diplomas belonging to the same reign. The drawing on the opposite page, of the size of the original, accurately represents it.

I shall now give a copy of the inscription, taking that of the exterior as being more complete first, and then that of the interior. In doing this I must mention that in the first place I have had the advantage of the assistance of Mr. Franks, of the British Museum; and we read the inscriptions very nearly as I shall now give them. And further, that I sent a photograph of them to Professor Hübner,





THE CHESTERS DIPLOMA.

of Berlin. He, in reply to my communication, says, "The same day I got your letter of July 21st, with the excellent photographs of the cleaned fragments, I gave the same to Professor Mommsen. He has succeeded, as I expected, in reading it, and I give you the text on the next page."

I now give the Professor's reading, remarking that the letters of the inscription that actually exist on the tablet are given in Roman capitals; those portions which have been supplied on the authority of similar documents are given in small letters.

INSIDE.

imp caes divi HADriani f divi trajani part n
divi nervæ PRON T Aelius hadrianus an-
TONINVS avg PIVS pont max tr pot viiii

IMP ii COS IIIi p p

EQ ET PED qui mil in al iii et coh xi q a avg
GAL PROC ET I et i hisp astvr et i
CELT ET I HISP ET i ael dacor et i ael classica
ET I FID ET II GALL et ii et vi nervior et iii
BRAC ET IIII LING et iiiii gallor et sunt in
BRITTAN SVB PAPIRIO aeliano quinque et vig stip
EMERIT M HON Missione quorum nomina subscripta
SVNT C R QVI EORVM non haberent dedit et
CONVB CVM VXORIBVS quas tunc habuissent
CVM EST CIV IIS Data
.

OUTSIDE.

imp CAESAR DIVI HADRIANI F DIVI
trajani PART NEPOS DIVI NERVAE PRO
nep t aELIVS HADRIANVS ANTONINVS
avg pivs PONT MAX TR POT VIIIi IMP II COS IIIi
p p eqvit et pEDIT QVI MILITAVER IN ALIS III
et cohort XI quAE APPELL AVG GALL PROCVL ET I
. ET I HISP ASTVR ET I CELTIB
et i hisp et i AELIA DACOR ET I AELIA
CLASSICA et i fid vARD ET II GALLOR ET II ET
VI NERVior et iii brAC ET IIII LING ET IIII GALL
ET SVNT IN BrittanNIA SVB PAPIRIO AELI
ANO QVINQue et viginti STIPEND EMERIT
.

Before giving a translation of the inscription, it may be convenient to lay the whole of it before the eye of the reader as it may be made out from both sides of the tablet and from contemporary documents.

IMPERATOR CAESAR, DIVI HADRIANI FILIVS, DIVI TRAJANI PARTHICI NEPOS, DIVI NERVAE PRONEPOS, TITVS AELIVS HADRIANVS ANTONINVS AVGVSTVS PIVS, PONTIFEX MAXIMVS, TRIBVNITIA POTES-TATE VIII, IMPERATOR II., CONSVL III., PATER PATRIAE.

EQVITIBVS ET PEDITIBVS QVI MILITAVERVNT IN ALIS III ET COHORTIBVS XI QVAE APPELLANTVR AVGVSTA GALLORVM PROCV-LEIANA ET I ET I HISPANORVM ASTVRVM ET I CELTIBERORVM ET I HISPANORVM ET I AELIA DACORVM ET I AELIA CLASSICA ET I FIDA [VARDVLLORVM] ET II GALLORVM ET II ET VI NERVIORVM ET III BRACARIORVM ET IIII LINGONVM ET IIII GALLORVM ET SVNT IN BRITTANNIA SVB PAPIRIO AELIANO QVINQVE ET VIGINTI STIPENDIIS EMERITIS MISSIS HONESTA MISSIONE.

QVORVM NOMINA SVBSCRIPTA SVNT CIVITATEM ROMANAM QVI EORVM NON HABERENT DEDIT ET CONVBIVM CVM VXORIBVS QVAS TVNC HABVSSSENT CVM EST CIVITAS IIS DATA [AVT CVM IIS QVAS POSTEA DVXISSENT DVMTAXAT SINGVLIS]

The document may be thus translated:—

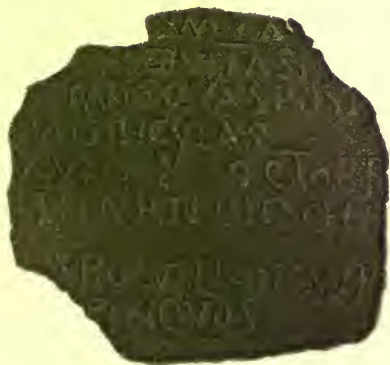
The emperor Cæsar (son of the deified Hadrian, grandson of the deified Trajan styled Parthicus, great grandson of the deified Nerva), Titus Ælius Hadrianus Augustus Pius, chief priest, invested with tribunitian power for the ninth time, declared emperor for the second time, consul for the fourth time, the father of his country, to the cavalry and infantry in three alæ and eleven cohorts, which are named the (ala) Augusta Gallorum Proculeiana (the imperial regiment of Gallic cavalry surnamed the Proculeian) and . . . , and the first ala of Celtiberians, and the first cohort of Spaniards and the first of the Dacians styled the Ælian, and the first cohort of Marines styled the Ælian, and the first of the Varduli surnamed the faithful, and the second of the Gauls, and the second and sixth of the Nervii, and the third of the Bracarians, and the fourth of the Lingones, and the fourth of the Gauls, and are in Britain under Papirius Ælianus, who having completed twenty-five campaigns and obtained an honourable discharge, whose names are written below, whoever of them does not already possess it, has granted the rights of Roman citizenship and



Inside



Outside



THE WALCOT DIPLOMA.

marriage with the wives whom they may have when the citizenship is given, or if any of them are unmarried, with those whom they may afterwards take provided each have one only.

Here the document ends. If the remainder of the plate had been found it would have given us the day of the month on which the edict was issued, together with the names of the consuls for the year. We know, however, the year: Antoninus Pius possessed the tribunitian power for the ninth time, was imperator a second time, and consul a fourth time in A.D. 146. The date is absolutely certain, as in the following year he accepted of the tribunitian power for the tenth time.

All the troops mentioned in this tablet we have met with before, either upon other diplomas, in the *Notitia*, or in lapidarian inscriptions, with the exception, perhaps, of the first, the *Ala prima Augusta Gallorum Proculeiana*. We have an *ala Augusta* upon altars found at Old Carlisle, and we have an *Ala Gallorum Sebosiana* in the Malpas diploma, but we have nowhere else an *ala* bearing the designation of the one before us. Doubtless it is a different body of troops from those I have now referred to.

As to the epithet of this *ala*, which is given in our tablet in the abbreviated form of PROCVL, we get a little light from the fragment of the Walcot diploma, of which a copy is here given,* where it appears in the more expanded form of PROCVLEIAN. This leaves no doubt that the whole word is *Proculeiana*. Occasionally we find that a body of troops in ancient as well as in modern times has taken its secondary denomination from its commander. Who the Proculeius was who gave name to this regiment we do not know. A knight of the name of C. Proculeius flourished in the reign of Augustus. Horace thus refers to him (*Odes* II., 2):—

“ Vivet extento Proculeius ævo,
Notus in fratres animi paterni.”

Thus rendered in English by our late lamented President, the Earl of Ravensworth:—

Let Proculeius' generous name
Survive to everlasting fame,
Who paid with more than father's care
Twice told his needy brethren's share.

* This copy is taken from the rubbing before spoken of. The letters having, however, been traced over by an inexperienced hand, some obvious errors springing from this cause have been corrected.

The circumstance which Horace refers to in these lines is believed to be this—he divided his patrimony with his brothers who were ruined in the civil wars. This person may have given his name to the regiment, but more probably it was a later commander who did so.

Of the troops mentioned in this diploma, as being in Britain in the year A.D. 146, it is worthy of notice that five of them (one *ala* and four cohorts) came from Spain, four (one *ala* and three cohorts) came from Gaul, and two cohorts came from the modern Belgium. One cohort, the Dacian, came from the east of Europe, the country now occupied by the Wallachians and Bulgarians.

In the Riveling diploma, issued by Hadrian in the year A.D. 124, not less than twenty-seven bodies of troops are named, six *alæ* and twenty-one cohorts. In this diploma only fourteen regiments are named. In all probability there never were so many Roman troops in Britain as during the reign of Hadrian. It is true Antoninus Pius carried on war against the Caledonians by the agency of his lieutenant, Lollius Urbicus, and in his reign the wall between the Firths of Clyde and Forth was built; these however seem to have been tasks of inferior difficulty to those which Hadrian achieved. At all events, if we may judge from the evidence of coins, the war in Caledonia was concluded five years before the issuing of the Chesters diploma. Two first brass coins of Antoninus Pius were struck at Rome in the year 141, bearing on the reverse the figure of Britannia and the legend *BRITANNIA*. We may fairly suppose that these were struck in order to commemorate the emperor's victories in the island, and that the war was then virtually over. The famous second brass Britannic coin, of which such numbers were found in Coventina's well at Procolitia, bears the impress *COS IIII*; Antoninus Pius became Consul for the fourth time A.D. 145, which is a year before the date of the diploma.

Another fact of interest respecting the troops mentioned in our diploma is that we have proof that one half of them remained in Britain until nearly the close of the Roman occupation of the island. In the list given in the *Notitia Imperii* of the troops in garrison upon the Wall we have the names of seven of those in our diploma. The *Notitia*, as we have it, is believed to have been compiled early in the fifth century. We have thus evidence of these troops having remained in Britain, probably in the same stations, for two centuries

and a half. Nay more; some of them are named in the Malpas diploma of the year A.D. 104; these, therefore, must have been in the island for three centuries.

I have but one more observation to make. The Chesters tablet reveals to us the name of a governor of Britain of which we were ignorant before. Near the close of the inscription we have the words *sub Papirio Æliano*. Before holding the office of legate Papirius Ælianus must have served the office of consul. His name, however, does not occur in any existing list of consuls. In the year A.D. 184 a person named Cneius Papirius Ælianus appears in the consular lists. It is quite possible that this person may have been a descendant of the British legate, but we have no direct information respecting the legate himself beyond what this little fragment of bronze affords us.

In addition to the tablet which we have now discussed a small fragment of another was found at the same time, which is probably part of a duplicate copy of this one. It certainly belongs to the reign of Antoninus Pius, though nothing else can be ascertained respecting it.

I have perhaps extended my narrative to too great a length. The unusual character of the subject has tempted me. I have sometimes had the pleasure of making important communications to the Society, but never, I think, one more important than this. Professor Hübner, of Berlin, in writing to me respecting it, says, "On the whole it is a very important and highly interesting find, upon which I congratulate most heartily Mr. Clayton and yourself."

ABIGAIL AND TIMOTHY TYZACK, AND OLD GATESHEAD.

BY JAMES CLEPHAN.

AN error or two in my recent paper on the Huguenot glass-makers, of which I have had friendly appraisal, must plead my apology for this supplementary sheet. One of the slips would hardly have occurred if Brand's invaluable history had been crowned by a good index. With such a guide I should probably have known that the gravestone of Abigail Tyzack, lying in the grounds of Heaton Cottage, had already been copied by our vigilant local historian, and at a time when its inscription was more distinct and legible than at the present day. But in the absence of all clue to the greater part of his contents, I was not aware of the record till I heard of it from one who reaches instinctively every corner of a book, through highway and byeway, without finger-posts. Less lynx-eyed than he, I had not detected, lurking in a foot-note, the little life of the infant Abigail. "Quakers' Meeting House, 340," is the sole reference of the reverend author to her whereabouts. There, on the page indicated, the historian quotes, in the first of his volumes, the acknowledgment made by George Fox of the welcome received from Gateshead in 1657, when Newcastle was hostile. "One Ledger, an alderman of the town, was very envious against truth and Friends;" and his worship's companions were of kindred spirit. "So, when we could not have a public meeting among them, we got a little meeting among Friends and friendly people at the Gate-side, where a meeting is continued to this day." Among these Friends, as I now learn, the child Abigail was buried; and a century afterwards the Rev. John Brand saw her stone "in the garden belonging to Captain Lambton, near the Middle Glass House," bearing this inscription:—"Abigail Tizacke, daughter of John and Sarah Tizacke, departed this life the 7th day of the 12th month, and in the 7th weack

of her age, anno 1679." "The 12th month," he explains, "is an expression for December, which clearly marks the sect to which J. and S. Tizacke belonged."

It is some comfort to me, in my shortcomings, to find Brand himself tripping, and that I have erred in such good company; for when the inscription was carved the twelfth month was an expression, not for December, but for February. The Friends of George Fox's day were numbering their months after the Old Style, and March began their year. Not until the next century had half run out was the custom changed. In 1751, when the Act 24, George II., cap. 23, for the Reformation of the Calendar, had been placed on the Statute Book, the Yearly Meeting resolved:—"That in all the records and writings of Friends, from and after the last day of the tenth month, called December, next, the computation of time established by the said Act should be observed, and that, accordingly, the first day of the eleventh month, commonly called January, next, shall be reckoned and deemed by Friends the first day of the first month of the year 1752;" and so on as to the other months following.—(*Gentleman's Magazine*, October, 1751.)

It is important that this resolution should be borne in mind when we are reading "records and writings of Friends" older than 1752, if we would not go wrong as to dates. Take, for appropriate example, the title-page of the *Journal of George Fox*, published in 1694. He is there said to have departed "on the 13th of the 11th month, 1690;" and November 13th, 1690, is, in consequence, not uncommonly assigned as the day of his death; although, in fact, he died on the 13th of January, 1691. He who carries his perusal of the *Journal* below its title will meet with conclusive evidence that Fox's year began with March. Writing to the King of Poland, he dates his letter "London in England, the 10th of the 3rd month, commonly called May, 1684." And in like manner, Thomas Story, whose *Journal* was printed at Newcastle in 1747, refers to "the 1st of the 11th month, commonly called New Year's Day."

Bearing this computation in mind, let us turn to the records of the Friends in this northern district. "The Story of the Registers" was told in September last, in the *Cornhill Magazine*; and the writer, in speaking of those of the Society, says that "no registers exist which

have been prepared with more care." Owing to this care in the past, and the courtesy of Friends in the present, I am enabled to supply a fact or two about Abigail Tyzack not recorded by the mason's chisel. Her parents, John Tyzack and Sarah Langford, were married on the 6th of the 6th month (August 6), 1674. Four children were born to them on the Tyne, and received Scripture names:—Elizabeth, Samuel, Abigail, and Nathan. Abigail, with whom we are chiefly concerned, was added to the family on the 21st day of the 10th month (December 21), 1679, and departed on the 7th of the 12th month (February 7), 1680. The record states that she was "buried in Gateshead," and describes her father as a "broad glass maker." Tenderly she must have been loved and mourned in the household, or a separate stone would hardly have been reared to one so young. At the time of her death the Friends had their meeting house in Gateshead. "The first place of meeting which the sect held in the vicinity of Newcastle-upon-Tyne was in the street called Pipewell-Gate, in a house not many years ago the property of a Mr. Swift, who kept a tavern in it, with the sign of the Fountain." (Brand, 1789.) But in the first year of William and Mary a change occurred. On the 15th of January, 1690, an enrolment was made in Quarter Sessions, Durham, of "a meeting house for the people of God called Quakers in Gateshead, nigh the Tolbooth." (Mackenzie, 1827.) Similar registration took place, at the same time, as to South Shields, Sunderland, and Bishopwearmouth. The Society was now acquiring the shield of William and Mary, cap. 13, "An Act for exempting their Majesties' subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the penalty of certain laws." There were to be no more such "curious entries in Gateshead parish books" as the item of 1684 copied by Sykes:—"For carrying twenty-six Quakers to Durham, £2 17s."

About this time "Daniel Tittery" appears in the minutes as a member of the Gateshead Meeting; and on the 11th of the 2nd month (April 11), 1687, "Peregrine Tizacke is desired to write for some of William Penn's newly-printed books." "John and Sarah Tizacke" had left Newcastle for London in 1684; and on the 13th of the 12th month, 1687-88, otherwise February 13th, 1688, there is a certificate, with thirty-seven signatures, from the monthly meeting in Gateshead, bearing testimony that they were of good report. A

"sober, discreet woman," was Abigail's mother, "loving truth and Friends, and frequenting meetings." It was probably on the eve of leaving the Tyne for the Thames that the stone for her little one was raised. Whereabouts it first stood, in the parish of St. Mary, does not appear; nor how it happened that it was transplanted to the enclosure beyond the river. From the time that Brand saw it there, prior to 1789, the garden continued to remain a green spot for generations, by the side of the St. Lawrence' road; the general aspect of the scene much the same as when Captain Lambton received his reverend visitor, and showed him the inscription. Half-a-century afterwards, Mr. Councillor Cook, now of Byker, occupied the house in connection with the glass-works. The sculptured record had then passed away from view. An old summer-house was standing on the green, with a stone step at the door, as it had stood for years. But the time came when this rustic relic of former days must depart. Building operations were in progress, and its site was required. The structure was taken down; the doorstep removed; and on the underside was Abigail's inscription! The attention of Mr. Justice Nichol and Mr. Joseph Sewell was called to the unlooked-for discovery; and the stone was set apart for transport to the grounds of Heaton Cottage, now, by the generosity of Sir William Armstrong, the property of the people of Newcastle. Unfortunately, however, it accidentally got broken ere it could be taken to its place of rest. In my former paper I jumped to the conclusion (a dangerous feat) that the growth of a sycamore tree, near which it had lain for many years, was the cause of the fracture; but through the obliging communication of Mr. Cook, I was speedily put right; and I have to thank him for his contribution to the history of the wandering stone, over whose long home at the North Shore now runs the new road to Walker!

The babe Abigail, the heroine of this little episode in the romance of life, who never knew a letter, yet is the subject of so many, has numerous companions of her race in the register of the Society of Friends. Births and marriages and deaths of the Tyzacks are enrolled from the year 1674 to 1746. Tittories are also to be found; but, beginning in 1671, they cease in 1688. Of the Henzells there are no entries.

From the frail memorial of the daughter of John and Sarah Tyzack,

rudely fashioned about the year 1680, the transition is easy to the sumptuous heraldry that marks the tomb of Timothy Tyzack in the chancel of St. Mary. He and Abigail died within no long time of each other, and, probably enough, the aged burgess was present at the "burial in Gateshead" of the innocent whose days were less in number than his years. The parish register has disclosed to us the story of birth and death in his household; what is told of him in the church, on parchment and in marble, has been copied in print; and now, of Timothy as of Abigail, something more may be said. The parochial papers come to our aid. Mr. Longstaffe has placed in my hands his jottings from the Vestry Minutes, in which there is frequent mention of the substantial parishioner whose arms are depicted in the Transactions. He and his times rise up before us in these local records. He is entering upon public life, a young married man, in the earlier years of the Commonwealth. In 1654, "Mr. Timothie Tisick" is elected "an oversear of the poore." He is afterwards "auditing the accounts of the churchwardens;" and in due season he becomes one of the Four-and-Twenty—a Select Vestryman.

The Gateshead Vestry, with its cliques and controversies, had its alternations of prosperity and decay. It mirrored the parties and fortunes of the nation—its ups and downs—in the disquieted seventeenth century. After the Protectorate comes the Restoration; and in the month of May, 1663, when notice had been given in church of a meeting on the morning of the 11th, there was a *coup d'état*. Those who attended "judged it fitt to supplie the places of John Bulman and William Henderson, being dead; of Mr. Ralph Carr and Lionel Maddison, seldom coming; and of William Coates, having bene a meanes of some losse to the towne, and much trouble to some of the officers therof." So, with one dissentient, they proceeded to elect five other parishioners, first among whom comes "Mr. Timothie Tizack." To secure, moreover, better attendance in future, a fine of twelvecence was to be imposed for absence; and the proceeds to be applied to the relief of the poor.

The "one dissentient" seems to have represented an absent majority. With a dash of the pen the resolution is struck out: the transaction is disowned. Timothy Tyzack, however, continues to be a leading man in St. Mary's. He is one of the four principal parishioners appointed in November, 1674, "to goe about with the parson and churchwardens

throughout this whole parish, to make discovery of all such inmates, strangers or others, that are or may be troublesome to the parish, and the same so found to present to the Fower-and-Twenty, to the end such persons may be proceeded against according to law." Intruders were to be ferreted out and sent away: none but settled inhabitants suffered to remain. Strangers within the gates—alien dwellers—must not abide. Whatever measures, however, were taken in 1674, they were not efficient. An alarm soon recurs of great increase of poor people in the parish, "by persons receiving strangers and foreigners, who, by continuance of time, become inhabitants, and so chargeable." The more established traders were jealous of the invasion of "foreigners:" "strangers" must avault. Wayfaring men had everywhere a hard time of it in the good old days. Waifs were not wanted. Many a passing vagrant was clawed by the "cat" in merry England at the expense of the parish. St. Mary's had its whipping-post in the reign of King James; and in the year when his son Charles, "touching for the evil" at Durham on his northward way, dined with Sir Lionel Maddison beyond the Blue Stone, "six roges" were whipped in Gateshead.

Gateshead had its "roge stobe;" most parishes had; but if not, wanderers were whipped nevertheless. So, too, were settled sinners. Not uncommonly the church tower had been made to do duty for the stob. On the eve of the War of the Roses, a false lover was sentenced, for breach of promise, to have a dozen floggings round Billingham Church.

Although Gateshead had a church round which an offender might be whipped, and a "white shirt" for discipline within, it was not fully equipped for parochial correction. The late Mr. W. H. Brockett had to state, in his "Few Notes on Ducking Stools," that St. Mary's was fined 6s. 8d. in 1627 for wanting one. The omission was thereupon supplied; and there is an item of 12s. for a "doking stoull" in 1628. In a single generation it seems to have been worn out; for another was procured after the Restoration. It is an ancient device, venerable as Domesday, where its existence in England before the Conquest is recorded; and it still survives, as a sinecurist, in antiquarian museums.

Gatesiders were shaking their heads in 1676 over local decay. "Great complaints had been made by the parishioners of the want of a

Vestry, or Four-and-Twenty, to order and govern the affairs of the town and parish, by means whereof (of late years) the rights and privileges of the said town and parish were much weakened and decayed." Town and parish, be it observed, looked to the Select Vestry for order and government, civil and parochial. The movement for this object, in 1676, led to the framing of a list in October on which Timothy Tyzack stands fourth. He is now a chief citizen; follows next after Rector Werge in 1681, when signing his name to a minute of the Churchwardens and Four-and-Twenty; and sits in the same pew with Sir Ralph Carr. The men and women of the congregation are seated apart, unless by special favour. Married folk are in some cases allowed to sit together.

In the closing year of Charles the Second, when Timothy Tyzack, in his old age, was enrolled in the minutes at the head of the Four-and-Twenty, there was a younger Timothy in middle life, who survived the first into the reign of William and Mary. The sons describe the father on his tombstone as Merchant Adventurer; and the books of the Vestry are not without some glimpses of the commodities in which he dealt; as, for instance, in 1660, "Mr. Tissick, for a pound of powder and math [match], 1s. 5d.;" and twenty years further on in the century, "Tim. Tyzack, for figgs, 2s. 6d.;" three other tradesmen supplying prunes to the extent of 1s. 4d. each. So extensive an investment in dried fruit is eloquent of the day "when we ridd the bounderie," and scrambled prunes and figs among the boys.

Gateshead was a place of considerable merchandise and manufacture. It made linen and woollen goods; had a name for stockings; and numbered more than half-a-dozen incorporated companies. Our Merchant Adventurer was a member of the comprehensive company of Drapers, Tailors, Mercers, Hardwaremen, Coopers, and Chandlers, chartered by Bishop Mathew in 1595, when it was composed of six-and-twenty of the trading inhabitants. In the same year, the Cordwainers alone, fifteen in number, were sufficient to constitute a separate fraternity. (Durham Records, 1876.) The manufacture of shoes was a staple branch of industry at the south end of Tyne Bridge. In former days, and down to the present century, the borough was famous for its annual Shoe Fair, to which dealers and customers came from far and near. Gradually, however, as shops increased in number and

improved in quality, stalls declined. In 1845 there were but seven, "straggling from the top of Church Street to the railway bridge" over the High Street—"a mere patchwork of tradesmen's window-shutters and sugar-hogsheads." "Time, which spareth nothing, had laid a heavy hand upon the Shoe Fair, and almost crushed it out of existence." The fair continued to dwindle, hogshead by hogshead, till it was reduced to a final shutter. The climax came in 1853, when "one of the most courteous of the sons of St. Crispin"—"the last man" of an ancient institution—presented himself in the High Street, "a corporation sole." (*Gateshead Observer*.)

The Company of Drapers, Tailors, Mercers, Hardwaremen, Coopers, and Chandlers, appears to have been too heterogeneous for harmony. The statement must be made, on the authority of Mr. Longstaffe, that its members "seem to have been fond of quarrelling." They were at loggerheads under Oliver Cromwell, and brotherly love did not return with the Restoration. In 1660, as may be read in his paper on "The Trade Companies of Gateshead" just quoted, "Timothy Tizacke ignominiously branded the stewards and company with the names of fools and knaves, and imperiously departed the meeting, and encouraged thirteen brothers, and (worst of all) the company's clerk, to do the like without leave of the stewards; and in 1666, one of the said reprobates was fined for discovering the company's secrets." Is it possible that this ill blood had its origin in the atmosphere of the company's hall?—"which seems to have been the Tolbooth," standing like an island "in the middle of the High Street." It certainly cannot be said of the annals of the brotherhood, as they come from the accomplished hands of its historian, that they are tedious. Let us hope, however, that the members were nevertheless happy.

That the town had its mirth and music—its "cakes and ale"—the accounts bear witness. The waits discoursed in dulcet measure under the Monarchy. There was fifing and fiddling in Oliver's days. Bulls were baited and boundaries ridden whosoever ruled the roast; and bells were rung and drums beaten all the year round. When the Town Fields were mown, the bow was rosined, and played duets with the scythe. The Four-and-Twenty were feeing the fiddler in 1651, and paying the piper in 1655. "Paid for pipeing to the mowders when they skailed the Town Fields, 2s." What Roger North, in his

life of the Lord Keeper Guilford, calls "the north-country organ"—the "four or five drone chanter" that kept time with the oars of the Mayor's barge in 1676—animated the mower, and whetted the edge of his implement, as he laid low the grass in the meadows of Gateshead. Pipes and bells droned and rang whether Crown or Cromwell was uppermost. "For ringing the bells when His Majesty came to the town," in May, 1639, two shillings went up to the belfry; the musicians at the ropes loftily careless of the fact that a printing press was in the royal train, and that, with every pull, they were proclaiming its advent to the Tyne.

Coming events were casting their shadows over St. Mary's. The Scots were on the Tyne in 1640, troubling and perplexing the inhabitants on both sides of the river, and in no haste to go—"loth to depart," and ready to return. Billeting themselves in the houses or halls or churches of the citizens, one of the traces left behind by the war is in the books of the Gateshead Vestry:—"February 29, 1644, for 2 horse lod of colls when the solgers was att the church, 8d." These, however, were English warriors on the watch. "Twixt friend and foe there was much loss and suffering for the unwall'd town. One of the smallest burdens of the period was the fourteenpence the Vestry had to pay for the ransom of "the great new gate" the Scots carried off to their quarters, "which gate did hang at the entering into the Town Fields."

Witches as well as war troubled the minds, and were supposed to trouble also the bodies, of the Gatesiders, midway in the seventeenth century. In 1649-50 they cost the ratepayers much good money. The poor suspected creatures had sad treatment at the hands of blind justice. Arrested, examined, imprisoned, buried—at the charge of the community.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|----|----|
| Going to the justices about the witches | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Paid at Mrs. Watson's when the justices sate to examine the witches | 0 | 3 | 4 |
| Given them in the Tolebouthe, and carying the witches to Durham | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| The constables, for carying the witches to jaile | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Trying the witches | 1 | 5 | 0 |
| A grave for a witch | 0 | 0 | 6 |

Small was the cost when this poor "witch," in a manner hidden from our view, rose over her troubles. Profoundly were our forefathers possessed by this superstition of witchcraft; not, peradventure, yet thoroughly cast out from amongst us. The parish clerk of Holy Island was on the 16th of July, 1691, calmly writing in his register of burials:—"William Cleugh, bewitched to death." And from the same insular record, while Dr. Raine's "North Durham" is on the table, may be quoted, as belonging to the subject in hand, "October 2, 1642, Elisone, daughter to Henry Tysick the Hollander."

The departed witch of St. Mary's, buried at a charge of sixpence for her grave, would be committed to the earth in a parish coffin. Such coffins were in general use during the century of the civil war, doing service over and over again. "1644-45, paid (in Gateshead) for making three coffins of five old formes, and mendynge a seat, 3s." "1661-62, paid for making a church coffin, 8d." Parish coffins, or shells, had a long reign. The Rev. John Brewster states, in his history of Stockton, that in that town they survived the days of Queen Anne. This he had learnt from John Chipchase, a famous school-master for half-a-century, whose uncle was parish clerk at the time the custom came to an end. The Rev. George Walker, officiating at a funeral after his arrival in 1715, observed the body was about to be divested of its coffin, and was told, in answer to his inquiries, that it was wanted for further use. He insisted, however, that it should go into the grave; and church coffins were heard of in Stockton no more.

Mortality was aggravated in Gateshead, as in other haunts of men, by neglect of the laws of health. Epidemics were invited, and they came. Close cousin of the plague was the uncleanness of the town—its reeking accumulations of refuse. There were other collections at the church door than those made for the relief of the stricken inhabitants. "For removing the dunghille out of the churchyard," 5s. 6d. was paid in 1649-50; and in 1656-57, within a year of the payment of 3s. "for horse and expenses goeing to present the Papists," the Four-and-Twenty were better employed in setting their town in order, "carrying away the rubage which had lyen 4 years at the Lowe Pant, and was verie much noysome to people, and troublesome to all that passed by." The enormity of this mass may be estimated by the cost of clearance, and the price it brought to the town-purse, viz.,

"£4, minus 10s. paid for this rubbish." If all the consequences, in chamber and churchyard, of such monster middens could be brought home to them, they would be found answerable for much heavier costs than are set down in parish books. The dimensions of the Gateshead gathering are not given, as of that "within the site and circuit of the castle" on our own side of the Tyne. This was ascertained, by the inquest of 1620, to measure 98 yards in length, 10 in height, and 32 in breadth—a mountain that, "by reason of its weight," threw down 40 yards of the outer wall. Nuisances of this kind were not dislodged in a day. They kept their place from generation to generation. About two hundred years after the overturn of the castle wall, when the nineteenth century was entering on its course, the local authorities were complaining of "the scandalous practice of converting the public street into a public dunghill, by throwing ashes and other rubbish at the turn of almost every corner." (*Newcastle Chronicle*, February 21, 1801.)

"In olden times, people put up with much more than they do now. Each house" in Darlington "had a dunghill in its fore-front. As late as 1710, it was resolved 'that every one keep their dunghill in winter well shuffled up, and that the same be carried away before Whitsuntide.'" Darlington streets occur as only "lately paved" in 1749, and are still spoken of in 1790 as "very dirty in winter, not being paved." (Longstaffe's "Darlington.") In October of 1674, Stockton had but "common causeways," which the authorities were maintaining by an extra duty of twopence a last on corn imported into the borough. Not until November, 1715, was an order made for paving the streets. (Richmond's "Local Records.") A pleasant anecdote, in which the story of Sir Walter Raleigh and Queen Elizabeth is unconsciously repeated by Thomas Baker and Mary Jekyll, illustrates the state of Stockton streets, intersected by open drains and ditches, in the earlier years of George the Second. Baker, the "Farmer and Quaker Preacher" by whom the cultivation of the potato is understood to have been first introduced into the county palatine at Norton, had long wooed the damsel in vain. She was the richer of the two, and feared lest she was followed for her fortune more than for herself. The word he wished for was withheld; till, one day walking together, they came to a wide kennel over which she knew not how to pass;

whereupon her lover planted his shoe in the middle of the muddy stream as a stepping-stone, and Mary, availing herself of his gallantry, skipped nimbly over to the other side. The courtly deed was decisive. His ready foot gained him the maiden's hand. (Brewster's "Stockton.")

The thoroughfares of our old towns, in the absence of solid pavement, were apt to become noxious sloughs, the convenient receptacles of all manner of outcast stuff, and prejudicial to the public health. Pestilence walked in darkness, and destruction wasted at noonday. The Great Plague of 1635-36, sweeping out of Newcastle and Gateshead more than five thousand five hundred souls, is too historic to justify more than this passing glance; and it were tedious to dwell in succession on the less obtrusive visitations of which history takes so little notice. The pest was an ever-recurring foe of our forefathers, constantly presenting itself in their records in incidental mention. In 1642-43, when the plague had been hanging about Gateshead for many months, the Four-and-Twenty were levying "a sess of 24 weekes." "Every person to pay 24 tymes so much as he is now weekly rated." There were "collections at the church doore, at seaverall tymes," in 1645-46, amounting to £5 17s. 5d., "for releife of the poore infected people." Some were shored up in their homes, and fed from without. Others were camped on the common, with a shelter of sticks and sods, and supplied with food in their kraals. "Making loudges, and the releife of the poore infected people, in Bensham," is a frequent entry in the accounts of the Vestry. All that we know of some slow-wasting shadow of pestilence may come to us in the form of a parochial item, a line in a letter, or a few words in a will. "Allison Lawes of Gateshead, wedow, visited with the plague" in 1570, settled her worldly affairs in October. She and "all her children" were "in this visitac'on," and death took her. Whether it left the rest, does not appear; but she willed all their bodies to the parish churchyard, if they should die. Her neighbour, "John Heworthe, quareلمان," was in the same strait in 1571, "his house visited, his wyffe dep'ted to the m'ey of God, himself p'tlie craised." His quarry had been prosperous, enriching his only child, "doughter Jenett," whom he committed to the care of "his trustye friend James Cole." The "expences maid" by this Gateshead burgess, in connection with the sickness and funerals, comprise many suggestive items:—

| | £ | s. | d. |
|--|---|----|----|
| To the potticarie for triacle and certen other things ... | 0 | 3 | 10 |
| For strawe and candles | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| For sope and coles | 0 | 1 | 4 |
| For the bering of John and his wyffe, for the churchē, and for making ther grave | 0 | 5 | 4 |
| To the p'ste & the clerke, for the burial, knoling and rynging y ^e bells | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| For frankincense, jeunp ^r , and brom, for smoking the howse | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| For clensing the howse, & for meat & drinke to hym & hir in the tyme of sicknes, & to two s'runts & clensers had. (Sum not named.) | | | |
| Delt to y ^e poore at y ^e first tyme | 0 | 8 | 8 |
| At another tyme delt to the poore in bread and money... | 0 | 13 | 4 |
| To Ralf, Henrie, and Jenett Myddleton, for keping hym in his raige of sicknesse | 0 | 4 | 2 |
| To the p'son, making the will, and writing it ou' thrise | 0 | 6 | 8 |
| To Will ^m Mynes for fetching John Heworthe frends ... | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| For bord waigs for Jenett Heworthe for xvij. weeks ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |

"Unto Richard Archbald" the dying quarryman bequeaths articles of armour—"a cott of plait, a stele cap with a covering, and a sword," and also "purse, dagger, and belt." Among the witnesses were James Cole, Nicholas Cole, and Lawrence Dodsworth, clerk. (Surtees Society: Wills and Inventories.) James Cole is the famous Gateshead smith, from whose anvil sprang a Mayor of Newcastle, Ralph Cole, depicted by the Norwich travellers of 1634 as "fat and rich," and "vested in a sack of sattin." His worship was the purchaser of princely Brancepeth; which in the time of James I. had windows of "extraordenarie Normandie glasse, much of it wrought with armes and ymagery worke." With him, as Sheriff, sat his son Nicholas, who became a Baronet, and was father of Sir Ralph Cole, returned to Parliament by the county of Durham, at the head of the poll, in 1678. The great mansion of the Coles, with its grounds and gardens extending back to Oakwellgate, long stood conspicuous in Old Gateshead; and a picturesque portion of it, engraved for Richardson's Table Book in 1844, lingered in the High Street, opposite to Half Moon Lane, down to the month of June, 1865, when it disappeared. The accounts of the Four-and-Twenty have a note of the receipt in 1638-39 of 3s. 4d. from one of the family, viz., "James Cole, for his Ant Jane

Cole her larrestone ;" that is, her "lair" (or grave) stone ; a form of speech now obsolete by Tyne Bridge.



RELIC OF OLD GATESHEAD, 1844. REMOVED, 1865.

At both ends of the bridge the pavours were in motion in 1633, quickened into action by the approaching coming of Charles the First. Not twenty years before, the rammer was resounding through the city of London. "At this time (1615), the citizens began their new pavement of broad free stone, close to their shops ; and the taking down of all high causies, all about London." (Stowe's Annals : Howes.) Eighteen years later, the Four-and-Twenty of Gateshead, in anticipation of the royal arrival, resolved "that the street from Helgate end to Pipewell-gate end be forthwith laid with hewen stone." The work went on apace ; and there was "paid for laying 48 yeardes of newe stone, and 6 yeardes of old, in the Botle Banke, £8 8s. 6d." Also, "to workmen for makeing the stretts even at the King's coming, 18s. 4d.;" and "for ringing three severall dayes, 9s. 4d."

The King came and went ; the civil war broke out and passed away ; and the ordinary affairs of the world flowed on in Gateshead and everywhere. The Four-and-Twenty were "laying the Banke newe" in 1652, "being 45 yardes long, at 4s. per yarde, £29." The

whole town, apparently, was overhauled. The sum of 18s. 7d. was laid out in "paving 89 yards in Collier Chare at 2½d. per yard;" and "for mending the Hie Street and the Causeway, £1 10s." "For layinge the Burne Stone in Pipewellgate," a shilling was spent; and the locality is named in connection with "a cistern." An item of 1656-57 assists us in reconstructing the aspect of the approaches to the mother church in the days of the Commonwealth:—"60 foote of stepp, at 7d. a foote, goeing up to the church. 10 yards of flagging, at 2s. per yard, goeing up there. Mending of the ould stepps, 3s. 4d." An earlier item—one of the year 1638—contributes another feature to the picture:—"Mending the church stile, and tiles into it, 1s. 6d." St. Mary's had her "lich gate," where the corpse was brought to rest and shelter till the priest came to meet the mourners.

In the adjacent Anchorage dwelt the bellman—successor of the fair recluse whose churchyard cell had received the license of the Bishop three centuries before the coming of King Charles. "Mr. John Thompson, minister," occurs in 1657-58, "who teacheth schole in the Anchoridge." It was the meeting-place, moreover, of one of the incorporated companies of the borough—the "Weavers' Tower" of Gateshead. "An amicable and contented race" were the inmates, yet ready to unite with "the weavers of Newcastle in endeavouring to extirpate 'foreigners;'" those alien artists of the loom who were alike obnoxious to both. Foreigners and free, it is all one now. The law has abolished exclusive privileges of trade and manufacture; and the clock in the old church tower, that "beats out the little lives of men," has brought the shuttle to silence all roundabout the Anchorage. In directories and newspapers of the eighteenth century, we read of the weavers of Gateshead, who, when Old Tyne Bridge had fallen in 1771, were working at their webs in Oakwellgate and Hillgate, and in the neighbourhood of the Tolbooth, and in Pipewellgate and the Low Church Chare, responsive to the clack of the looms in the High Bridge and the Painter Heugh, and by the Castle Garth and the Ouseburn. But the shadows shift on the dial; the old order changeth; and the pattern in the loom of Time is ever new.

Gateshead had its sun-dial in bygone days, and was spending 14s. 6d. over "painting and cutting it" in 1655. About this time sprung up a movement for a church clock. A public subscription was set on foot.

The sum of £8 10s. 6d. was "received of divers inhabitants" in 1656, "as free contributions;" and in 1657 there is a fee of "£1 for keeping of the clock for the year." The parish had now its silent horologe on the wall, and its tongue of time in the tower. It had also its hour-glass by the preacher's elbow, and could learn lessons with the laureate—

From every grain of sand that runs,
And every span of shade that steals,
And every kiss of toothéd wheels,
And all the courses of the suns.

"The iron that the hour-glass standeth in" had done such long service in St. Mary's that it needed repairs; and eventually there came a renewal of the glass itself. The hour gave place to half-hour. Till, in the end, the last sand was run out, and sermons ceased to be measured by the grain.

Were sermons shortening in the seventeenth century? It might almost seem so. The church of All Saints' in Newcastle got "an half-houer glass" in 1640, and "an hower and half-an-hower glasse" in 1641; and came down to "a 20-minute glass" in 1706. (Sopwith's "Historical Account.")

The depreciated measure of the coinage impaired the resources of society. In common with the rest of the country, Gateshead suffered by the clippers. "Lost," in 1647, "by the chaingin of seaven pounds in clipt monies, 18s." "Lost by clipt monies," in 1652, "8s. 11½d." Riots arose out of the covetousness of the shears. The Yorkshire antiquary, Abraham de La Pryme, was at Brigg in the summer of 1696, "to hear the newse," and was told of disturbances on the Tyne. In and around Newcastle, there was "a great risinge of the mob about the money not going." "Poor people are forced to let their clip'd shillings go" at a sacrifice of from twopence to sixpence each; "and some at shops are forced to give as much more for anything they by as is ask'd for it." The Four-and-Twenty vented their vexation in a dip of ink: the commons, with no rates to fall back upon, fell to rioting.

All this time the parochial minutes were giving lessons as to the fauna of the surrounding country; and ever and anon the old church door, exhibiting a head *in terrorem*, threw in its leaf of natural history for popular perusal. Foxes and fowmarts roamed over the common at

the risk of their lives. With its open fields, its moor and fell, Gateshead had been a hunting ground from Magna Charta to the Bill of Rights, the chase dwindling down to rabbits before the time of the Reform Bill. The late Mr. John Bell used to show, in his now scattered collections, a handbill, less ancient than Waterloo, warning unlicensed Nimrods to avoid the Rabbit Banks! The four-footed folk of the grassy mount, down which the iron road now runs, were rigidly preserved. It were curious to know the day when the last inhabitant of the burrows was seen sitting at his door; but no Captain Cuttle has left a note of it in his pocket-book. Thanks to the Churchwardens and Four-and-Twenty, we do know when fougarts and foxes, running wild over the Town Fields, were prowling among hen-roosts and rabbit warrens, and were chased and captured in turn, not only without prohibition or penalty, but with prospect of reward. "Mr. Skellton's man," as the Household Books of Naworth inform us, had 5s. from Lord William Howard, on the 27th of October, 1612, for "caching a fox," (Surtees Society, vol. 68); and the Gateshead Vestry paid 1s. 4d. for "a fox and a badger's head" in 1683. King James succeeded King Charles; and in the month of June, 1687, "a fox's head" brought a shilling, "a feomard's" threepence. Similar payments run through the subsequent century:—1730, "a fougert's head naild to the church door, 4d." 1760, "a vermin's head, 4d." 1785, "three fougerts' heads, 1s." As many as "ten fougerts' heads" occur at one swoop in 1790. The customary payment for a head was a groat, save in the case of a fox. Reynard was a special object of hatred, and a shilling was set on his ravenous jaws.

On the north as on the south side of the river, fox and fougart, and badger or "brock," brought remuneration in vestries. A fox's head, for which a shilling had been paid, was stuck on the "ch. dore" of All Saints'; and down to the year 1731, the head of the otter came to the vestry for a groat. (Sopwith.)

Ample are the materials for local history. The adventurous pen has but to thrust in its point, and reap. One large sheaf it may gather for a chapter on the mutations of language. When the "Waine Menne" of Gateshead were claiming "thorough toll"—sixpence for every wain and threepence for a cart—the besom and the shovel were "dighting" the main street to keep it passable for traffic. "Dighting

the fore-street, and carrying away the rubbish," brought a burden on the rates, in the month of February, 1637, amounting to £1 6s. 8d. The word, as unfamiliar, now, as "lairstone" or "skail" to the Tyneside ear, was in common use with our ancestors. It plays its part in the books of the Gateshead Vestry and in those of the Corporation of Newcastle. In the year 1561, "Robart Thompsonne, for dighting of the Cayll Cros" at the foot of Allhallows' Bank, was receiving a shilling as "his quarterige." The good woman who "dighted the Merchants' Hall and the Court against the Feste" in 1595, had sixpence for the service. It is a word of wide application in literature and in speech. It rises up from the making comely of a street or a room, to Milton's "storied windows richly dight."

Some half-century ago, I first heard the word in living speech. In the year that gave a Supplement to Dr. Jamieson's Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language, it happened to me to be standing within the music of St. Giles's chimes in Edinburgh. Two youngsters, close at hand, came to words, one of whom bore down upon the other with the metaphor of an old proverb. "Gae wa'," he cried with scorn, "dight your neb, and flee up." I made a note of the phrase in memory, by the side of other colloquial evidences that words have wings. They "flee up," and are off; and the place that knew them knows them no more.

Narrow was formerly the peopled area on the southern slope of the Tyne, with its four Wards—"Pipewellgate" and "Pant," "Bank" and "High"—over which the Four-and-Twenty bore rule down to the "dighting of the fore-street" in 1637; nor was it much extended when the third George was approaching the meridian of his reign. Whitehead's Directory guides us to its limits by his roll of the tradesmen of the town in 1787, not quite one hundred and fifty in number. Somewhere about two dozen of them—not more—dwelt above what is now called Half Moon Lane. The business operations of Gateshead were chiefly carried on below the line of the railway bridge thrown over the High Street forty years ago. "High Street," however, is a name unknown to Whitehead. The localities given in his Directory are no more than sixteen; and this, as will be seen, is not of the number.

| | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|
| Bottle Bank | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 64 |
| Pipewellgate | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 24 |
| South End of Tyne Bridge | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 |
| South Shore | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 9 |
| Near Fellon Hole, South Shore | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| Hillgate | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 15 |
| Oakwellgate | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 |
| High Church Lane | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| High Church Chare | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 |
| Low Church Chare | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| Near Tolbooth | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 |
| Above Tolbooth | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 |
| Below Tolbooth | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 11 |
| Above Old Chapel (Trinity) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 |
| Below Old Chapel | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 |
| Near Old Chapel | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 |

Of these 149 tradesmen, 37 (say one-fourth) were publicans, one only of whom is described as "innkeeper." Bottle Bank and the riverside comprised the greater portion of the trade of the town. The three "Ships," the "Ship Launch," and the "Barge," betoken the prevalence of the shipping and shipbuilding interest in the borough. Among the business addresses that speak of an industrial condition differing from that of the present day, may be cited:—"Grey, Edward, weaver, above Tolbooth;" "Hewitson, Saint, Ormston, & Co., sugar-house, Hillgate;" and "Summers, John, shipbuilder, Greenland Fishery, South Shore."

The Bottle Bank of Whitehead's day was less limited than now. It rose from the east end of Pipewellgate to near the site of the railway crossing; its course unbroken by "Church Street," not constructed until 1790. At the head of Bottle Bank, between the premises of Isaac Jopling (the enterprising marble-mason who received the gold medal of the Society of Arts in 1810), and one of the three Half Moons of Gateshead, ran westward a covered passage-way, leading by Bailiff (or Bailey) Chare to that great high road of various denominations, the "Angiport" of the Romans; the "Dark" or "Mirk Chare" of our forefathers; their "King's Way behind the Gardens," or "Way which leads from Collier Chare to Durham;" not to mention numerous names more. In modern days it is known by a title taken from its position in relation to the High Street. But, in the period

of the piper and the Town Fields, "West Street," says Mr. Longstaffe (on whose manor of "Old Gateshead" I am poaching), "was really the high road to Durham, and High Street was but the town-street and cattle-gate to the Fell."

The day came when the narrow pack-horse outlet from the "town street" to the "king's way" must be widened, and become a lane for wheeled vehicles. The time-worn Tolbooth, out of which an adventurous prisoner was breaking his way in the summer of 1771, had been removed as an obstruction in 1797. Other facilities for public intercourse were in general request; and before the close of the century the alley that divided the Mason's Yard from the Half Moon was broadened into an uncovered lane. Mr. Jopling then proposed to himself, in the spirit of the old adage, to have the amended thoroughfare at his door named "Marble Street;" but, not keeping his own counsel, before he had reared his sculptured slab, Mr. Birch, the landlord, stole a march upon him. To the surprise of the master-mason, he saw in the early morning the apparition of "Half Moon Lane" on the wall of the inn. Much disconcerted, he stuck up his inscription nevertheless. But the public went with the innkeeper; the "Half Moon Lane" passed into common speech; and the controversy was forgotten—forgotten until 1847; in which year further buildings were removed, to make the widened way still wider. The long-hidden tablet, which had been covered by a tradesman's sign, then came unexpectedly to light; and the "old standards" had to interpret its meaning to a new generation. The railway age, with its extended requirements, had now led to the formation of one of the broadest streets in the borough; and the seniors had to descant on the days of their youth, when a flaming forge stood on the spot, and in front of the smithy rose up a "huge wooden pump, flinging its long arm over the public street, by the side of the foot-road."

Where the old Roman way approaches the river, and the iron road crosses its line in the rear of the Half Moon Inn, "The Butts" had once their place, and English bowmen sent their shafts in pursuit of the target. Here, in Elizabethan days, "John Heath, the great archer of Lamesley," would match his arrow against the field, and uphold the renown of islands that were rising to an empire surpassing that of the masters of the world who had subdued them. England

won the dominant position filled by Rome in the time of the Emperor that builded us our bridge and founded our town. Hadrian, who came to the Tyne, and singled out the strong position where, happily, forts and towers are now no longer required, and viaducts are multiplied, was a wondrous traveller and keen observer. In one of his far-reaching excursions by sea and land, he sends home from Alexandria a pleasant letter to his brother-in-law, Servian, commemorating the art that led me to the writing of this paper. Looking around him on the Egyptian capital, he exclaims, "Seditious, vain, impertinent generation! Opulent, rich, productive city, where no one lives in idleness! Some blow glass, others make paper, others are dyers. All profess and practise a business of some sort. * * * I have forwarded to thee some *allassontes* glasses (of changing colour), offered to me by the priest of the temple. They are specially dedicated to thee and to my sister. Use them at dinner on festive occasions; but see, however, that our Africanus do not let himself make too much use of them." (*Contemporary Review*, July, 1879.)

The world "changes colour" more marvellously than the glasses dispatched by the imperial wanderer to his sister's table. Great would be the contrasts presented to him on his travels by Alexandria and the Tyne; and how charmingly would he now sketch and moralize, could he revisit England and the Nile, and see, by the side of our transformed Ælian viaduct, the High Level Bridge of that engineer whose tubular roadways span the eastern waters of the Delta!

ON TWO INSCRIBED STONES FOUND AT JARROW IN 1782.

THE SLAB FOUND AT JARROW, NO. 538 IN THE "LAPIDARIUM SEPTENTRIONALE," WAS PRESENTED, AS THE SOCIETY IS AWARE, TO THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES IN LONDON, BY THE LATE CUTHBERT ELLISON, OF HEBBURN.

I EXAMINED this important historical monument twice within recent years, before the removal of that Society's collection of antiquities from Somerset House to Burlington House, and have since examined it again in the latter site, during the past and present years of 1875, 1876. Brand's original plate of this stone and of its inscription still remains the best, and his reading (which was fully adopted by the Rev. John Hodgson) is still valuable, only that it is not quite complete, in consequence of two letters after the word EXERCITVS, and five more constituting a line below, having escaped observation.

I will now give the inscription complete, as it has appeared to my eyes upon the stone, now accessible to antiquaries at Burlington House. Nevertheless, I entirely concur with those who believe that the word DIFFVSIS, which at present stands first, must have been preceded by a word or words forming a lost line above it. And this, because DIFFVSIS PROVINCIIIS is a figurative mode of expression, only admissible after some term more simple and direct than DIFFVSIS.

The simplest and most probable introductory words that can perhaps be proposed for consideration are, EXTENSIS AC. These words I will then place at the beginning, within brackets.

[EXTENSIS AC]
DIFFVSIS
PROVINCIIIS[IN]
BRITANNIA AD
VTRVMQVE O[STIVM]
EXERCITVS P.P. (perpetuum)
[P]ONI CVRAV (monumentum).

It will be perceived that this inscription is perfect at its conclusion. It is certainly quite unconnected with the other stone numbered 539 in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*. It does not seem to depend upon any other stone that is known to us in respect of its meaning and significance. The sense, of course, would be:—"The Provinces in Britain being extended and diffused as far as either Estuary, the Army has taken care that an enduring memorial be now placed."

RALPH CARR ELLISON.

April 5, 1876, and July 20, 1876.

THE INSCRIBED STONE FOUND NOT FAR FROM THE OTHER, AND NOW
IN THE CASTLE, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE, NUMBERED 539 IN THE
"LAPIDARIUM SEPTENTRIONALE."

ALTHOUGH the lower ends of three or four letters of a line at the top, which has been destroyed by fracture of the stone there, remain perceptible, the first legible portion of this inscription is this:—

OMNIVM · FEL
[ICISS]HADR
IANI CES REL · AT ·

And I cannot doubt that it ought to be completed in the erased part with the syllables ICISS, and read—

Omnium fel-
icissimi Hadr-
iani Cesaris.

In point of fact faint traces of the letters ICISS are still present.

This, indeed, is the reading which would first present itself to almost every student of the inscription. I well remember my own incapacity to accept the *omnium filiorum*, of Brand, or to understand why it should have been allowed to remain unquestioned; when, in fact, to defend and maintain it would probably be impossible, in the face of a much more obvious phrase applied to the emperor himself.

Brand, however, offers a valuable conjecture, that the lost line above "must have been Pro salute."

In strong confirmation of this are the syllables REL · AT · at the end of the third visible line, but the proper fourth. The "r" is, indeed, very feebly shown, and might easily be mistaken for "s." Careful examination of the stone, and of the large photographs, will, nevertheless, re-establish the "r" in its proper place; and the natural inference will be that REL · AT · is to be read as for RELEVATA.

PRO SALVTE
OMNIVM FEL-
ICISSIMI HADR-
IANI CESARIS RELEVATA
Then follows—
VATES IN OR · R
YIT

And as the initial figure in this latter sixth line is one which Horsley admits among those of "M" as in use by the Romans, I conceive that in this offering we may probably infer the homage of a Mithraic Priest, although Hadrian is said to have been no friend to the Mithraic worship. In the latter half of the sixth line I seem to read MARINO, but with a confusing interblending of MAR, which renders the syllable difficult to recognize. The final line seems to contain, in faint and uncertain characters (but still well worthy of study), the mention of two cohorts and the usual votive formula:—

VATES IN OR · R
MIT MARINO
COH · Æ COH IV VO SS
?

The whole seems to me to have run thus:—

PRO SALVTE
OMNIVM FEL-
ICISS · HADR-
IANI CES REL · AT (relevata)
VATES IN OR · R (ordine recto)
MIT MARINO (Mithræ marino)
COH · Æ · COH IV VO SS.
?

The two Jarrow stones or slabs are manifestly quite distinct and independent of each other, when we examine them closely and severely. And each inscription is perfect, or nearly so, in itself. The resemblance between them is confined to the size and dimensions of material, which may indicate that they occupied similar places in or against some public edifice. But the execution of the characters upon the two is widely different. That upon the stone in London shows all the care, depth, and precision proper to a public monument of importance; whilst that of the Newcastle stone is careless and unequal.

RALPH CARR ELLISON.

August 2, 1876.

ON A VOTIVE TABLET, WITH INSCRIPTION, RECENTLY
FOUND AT BINCHESTER.

BY THE REV. R. E. HOOPPELL, LL.D., F.R.A.S.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE-
UPON-TYNE, OCTOBER 29TH, 1879.

IN February last I had the pleasure of bringing before the Society the discoveries which had been made by Mr. Proud, of Bishop Auckland, at Binchester, the ancient Vinovium. Mr. Proud's researches have been continued since that time, and fuller results have been obtained. It will give me pleasure, at some future time, before the paper I read in February last is printed in the Transactions of the Society, to bring the account of the explorations up to date, that the whole may be included in the same printed record. In the meantime, however, I thought an account of an exceedingly interesting find, of a special character, which has very recently taken place, would be acceptable to the Society.

It was on the 3rd of the present month (October, 1879) that the workman came upon the votive tablet with inscription, which is depicted in the photograph I have the pleasure of laying upon the table. It is of a soft grit stone, which probably came from Weardale, and measures 23 inches in length by 6 to 7 inches in thickness. Its original breadth was probably 18 inches. It was broken, doubtless in ancient times, and what we have is not the whole: our fragment is of the full length, but only 16 inches wide at the top, and 10 inches wide at the bottom. Consequently a considerable portion of the inscription is gone. Fortunately, however, there is little difficulty in supplying the part that is wanting. The tablet contained two sculptured figures,

one male, the other female, the latter of somewhat smaller proportions than the former. The male figure is partially draped; probably the female figure was so also. With his right hand the male figure grasps the left hand of the female, and his left hand is on the neck of a serpent coiled round an upstanding balk of wood. Over and about the head of the female is the first part of the inscription, and beneath the feet of the two figures is the latter part. I sent impressions of the two portions of the inscription, as soon as I had seen the tablet, to our distinguished secretary, Dr. Bruce, to Mr. Roach Smith, Dr. Hübner, Mr. Thompson Watkin, and other friends and correspondents. To Dr. Bruce and Mr. Roach Smith I sent, at the same time, my restoration of the lost portion and expansion of the whole, which were as follows:—

[AES]CVLAPIO

[ET]SALVTI

[PRO SALV]TE ALAE VET

[TONVM.] C·R·M· AVRE

[L·GLOSS]OCOMAS·ME

[V·S·] L·M·

Expanded:—

AESCULAPIO ET SALUTI,
PRO SALUTE ALAE VETTONUM,
CIVIVM ROMANORUM,
MARCUS AURELIUS GLOSSOCOMAS,
MEDICUS,
VOTUM SOLVIT LIBENS MERITO
(or? MERITIS).



It is with much satisfaction that I am able to state that all concur in this restoration and expansion, reserving only the cognomen of the dedicator. With regard to it there must be doubt. What the first syllable may have been must remain matter of conjecture. Reserving that point Dr. Bruce and Mr. Roach Smith concurred fully in the interpretation given; and Dr. Hübner and Mr. Watkin, to each of whom I sent impressions only, sent restorations and expansions iden-

tical with mine. Mr. Watkin left the cognomen blank, while Dr. Hübner suggested HABROCOMAS. A learned prelate of our English Church, to whom I also gave impressions, suggested CHRYSOCOMAS. For GLOSSOCOMAS I must confess I have not found any authority, though, when I suggested it, I thought I remembered it as a name. HABROCOMAS means in Greek, to which language the cognomen seems certainly to belong, "the soft-haired one," and CHRYSOCOMAS means "the golden-haired one." Each, if I have understood my friends aright, has actually occurred as a proper name. With the exception of the name of the dedicator, then, I think we may conclude that the inscription, in English, was certainly as follows:—

"To Aesculapius and Salus,
For the Health and Safety of the Ala of the Vettonians,
Roman Citizens,
Marcus Aurelius Habrocomas (or other name*),
Physician,
Has erected this
In due and cheerful performance of his vow."

A question of great interest now arises:—What light does this tablet throw upon the military occupation of Vinovium? Other subordinate questions, also of much interest, such as the peculiarity of a dedication to Aesculapius *and* Salus, the probable nationality of the dedicator, his profession, &c., I shall at present pass over. But, with regard to the first question, it appears to me that this tablet is one of prime importance. It seems to intimate that the Ala Hispanorum Vettonum, Civium Romanorum, garrisoned Vinovium at one period of its history. The Vettones were a people of the Spanish Peninsula, dwelling in what is now the Province of Salamanca, between the rivers Douro and Tagus, the scene of several celebrated exploits in our own Peninsular War, and were renowned as horsemen. They are mentioned by the Roman poet Lucan in the 4th Book of his *Pharsalia*:—

His praeter Latias acies erat impiger Astur,
Vectonesque leves, profugique a gente vetustâ
Gallorum, Celtæ miscentes nomen Iberis.

* Since the paper was read, Mr. R. Carr Ellison has suggested another name, LEUCOCOMAS, "The white-haired one."

“They,” Afranius and Petreius, “had, besides their Italian troops, the unwearied Asturian, and the swift Vettonians, and the exiles from the ancient race of the Gauls who mingle in their designation the names of Celts and Iberians.” Silius Italicus also speaks of them, and of the rare qualities of their horses, and of the marvellous manner in which it was believed the breed of their horses was maintained, in the 3rd Book of his Punic War :—

At Vettonum alas Balarus probat aequore aperto.
 Hic adeo cum ver placidum, flatusque, tepescit,
 Concubitus servans tacitos grex prostat equarum,
 Et venerem occultam genitali concipit aurâ.
 Sed non multa dies generi, properatque senectus,
 Septimaque his stabulis longissima ducitur aetas.
 At non Sarmaticos attollens Susana muros
 Tam levibus persultat equis; huic venit in arma
 Haud aevi fragilis sonipes, crudoque vigore,
 Asper frena pati, aut jussis parere magistri.

“On the other hand, Balarus displays the alae of the Vettonians in the open plain. Among these people, moreover, when peaceful spring comes and the air grows warm, the herd of mares, making silent unions, expose themselves to the breeze and conceive hidden offspring from the prolific air. But the race has not long life, and old age hastens on, and the seventh year in the stalls of this country is passed in extreme old age. But the city of Susa, raising aloft its Sarmatian walls, does not command such swift horses. The war horse comes hence to battle, not tender through youth, but fierce with crude vigour, to bear the rein and obey the behests of his rider.”

The Vettonians probably came into Britain with Hadrian. They are mentioned in the Malpas Diploma, with which it will be noticed the C.R. of our inscription perfectly accords. They are mentioned, too, in inscriptions found at Bath and Bowes. Neither of those inscriptions, however, necessarily suggests military occupation. On the contrary, the Bowes inscription, read by the light of ours, seems to lead to the conclusion that they were stationed at no great distance from Bowes, but not actually there. We will dismiss the Bath inscription first. It was discovered in 1736, and is upon a sepulchral slab. It reads thus, according to Prebendary Scarth, who has described it in his “Roman Remains of Bath :”—

L·VITELLIVS·MA
 NTAI F TANCINVS
 CIVES·HISP·CAVRIESIS
 EQ·ALAE·VETTONVM C·R·
 ANN·XXXXVI·STIP·XXVI
 H· S· E·

That is to say:—"Lucius Vitellius Tancinus, the son of Mantaus, a Spanish citizen, of Caurium, a horseman of the Ala of the Vettonians, Roman citizens, who died aged 46 years, having served in the army 26 years, lies buried here."

Tancinus, when ill, may have gone to Bath for the benefit of the waters. In the absence of any further record of the Ala at Aquae Solis, we cannot conclude from his sepulchral monument that the Ala was stationed there.

The Bowes inscription is very interesting. It was found there many years ago, and is on an altar dedicated to the goddess Fortune. It reads thus, according to Horsley:—"Deae Fortunae. Virius Lupus Legatus Augustalis Propractor. Balineum vi ignis exustum Cohors Prima Thracum restituit, Curante Valerio Frontone Praefecto Equitum Alae Vettonum."

That is to say:—"To the goddess Fortune. Virius Lupus, Imperial Lieutenant, Governor of Britain. The baths burned to the ground the First Cohort of the Thracians rebuilt, under the superintendence of Valerius Fronto Praefect of the Cavalry of the Ala of the Vettonians."

This is perfectly consistent with the location of the Ala of the Vettonians at Vinovium. The architect of the restoration was Valerius Fronto, the Colonel of the Vettonian Dragoons, who may have acquired a reputation for skill in such matters, but the instruments were not his own soldiers, but the First Cohort of the Thracians. Bowes is at no great distance from Vinovium. There cannot be a doubt but that there was a direct road in Roman times between the two places. What more natural than that the man specially qualified for the work, when so near at hand, should be called upon to superintend the re-erection of the building, especially if it was done by order of the Propractor, the Governor of Britain, himself, as it is very possible it was.*

* The Vettonians are also mentioned, Mr. Thompson Watkin informs me, in an inscription found, about two years since, on a portion of a sepulchral slab, near

It is remarkable how many important public edifices were re-erected in this frontier district within a generation, and for the same or similar assigned reasons. The baths at Bowes had been burned down, but a granary, probably the Commissariat stores, at Great Chesters, the arsenal, and general's headquarters, at Lanchester, had "tumbled in through age." The words used, in each of these latter instances, are "conlabsum vetustate." I can understand them in no other sense than as implying a long absence of the Romans from the stations, a period of desolation, or, at any rate, of neglect, during their absence,—the natives would use other fortresses and other edifices,—a re-occupation, and a re-edification of the burned or dilapidated structures. The baths at Bowes seem to have been rebuilt not far from the year A.D. 202, the stores at Great Chesters about A.D. 225, the arsenal and general's headquarters at Lanchester about A.D. 239. I think the dedication of our tablet belongs probably to pretty nearly the same period as the rebuilding of the baths at Bowes. Possibly the army surgeon, Chrysocomas, or Habrocomas, accompanied the Vettonian cavalry, when the expedition was made from Eboracum or Isurium, which resulted in the re-conquest of the southern portion, at least, of the Highland district, and possibly he registered a vow to Aesculapius and Salus, that, if his charge escaped decimation by wounds or sickness or both combined, he would duly manifest his gratitude when the lost stronghold was recovered, and the eagles again spread their wings in our dangerous and difficult region. If so, the tablet is a witness to the stubbornness and prowess of our British forefathers.

I do not think the Vettonian Ala can have been the first garrison of Vinovium, for the bricks and tiles, apparently used at the time of the first building, bear the stamp N CON; the meaning of the second portion of which inscription has never yet been made out. That the first conquest was a difficult one, we may be sure, not only from the

Brecon, now in the possession of Mr. Baron Cleasby. It is, unfortunately, only fragmentary. What there is reads thus:—

DIS.M
 CAND
 NI.FILI
 HISP.VETT
 CLEM.DOM
 AN.XX.STIP.III.H . .

nature of the country, and the acknowledged bravery of the Britons, but from the words of Juvenal in his 14th Satire :—

Vitem posce libello ;
Dirne Maurorum attegias, castella Brigantûm,
Ut locupletem aquilam tibi sexagesimus annus
Afferat.

Which may be freely rendered :—

“Petition for a centurion’s post,
Enter the army, take active service,
Destroy the tents of the Moors, the fortresses of the Brigantes,
That, by the time you are sixty years old, you may
Get appointed to some lucrative berth.”

A mode of reference to the hardy warriors of our northern counties which certainly seems to intimate that they gave the all-powerful Romans in Hadrian’s days more trouble than Cabul and Candahar have given us, thus far, in these. Martial’s words, also, in the 4th Book of his Epigrams :—

Rides nomina ? Rideas licebit.
Haec tam rustica malo quam Britannos.

“You laugh at our Spanish names? Laugh if you like.
Uncouth as they are, I like them better than the Britons.”

imply the same, for they show that Vinovium, Vindomora, Cilurnum, and Eboracum, were in everybody’s mouth in Rome at that time, as Ali Kheyl, Shutargardan, and Khoorum, have been in ours of late. And this view of the subject is confirmed, in a most interesting manner, by a Roman inscription lately found at Escombe Old Church. Mr. Longstaffe was the first to point out that there were letters on a stone in the north wall of the nave of the Saxon Church there, which he gave as c.v. Mr. Pritchett, of Darlington, examining them more closely, and removing some of the plaster with which a portion of the inscription was covered, found that they were LEG VI. I have not yet been able to examine them for myself, so cannot tell whether the LEG VI was followed by another v.* But, whether so or not, it is plain, I think,

* I have since examined it carefully, but without discovering any trace of a final v. It is possible, however, that the stone was shortened before it was built into the wall of the church.

that the "Sixth Legion, the Victorious," was engaged in the first reduction of Vinovium, and that some circumstance of more than ordinary import induced it to leave a memorial of its presence there. Then the "Numerus Con" would, I take it, be left in permanent possession, until, in the lapse of time, and after an abandonment and a reconquest, that duty devolved upon the Ala Vettonum.*

It will be interesting now to note how the occupation of Vinovium by the Vettonian cavalry, which I have been engaged in deducing from the tablet just found, fits in with the other inscriptions which have been discovered, in former times, at Binchester.

I think these number, as far as have been recorded, eight. Unfortunately, but one of the whole number is known to be still in existence. Of the rest, one, I think, contained only the letters V·S·L·M· still legible. Another told us nothing of the dedicator but his cognomen, Gemellus. A third was erected by a consular beneficiary. Each of the other five has a direct bearing on our question.

The inscription still known to be in existence is on an altar at Durham. The dedicator was Marcus Valerius Fulvianus, "præfectus equitum,"—"colonel of horse." This entirely accords with an ala of cavalry being in garrison. Another was on a sepulchral slab erected to the memory of Nemontanus, "decurio"—"captain of horse." This equally accords with the arrangement. The slab was erected by the brother of Nemontanus "and his coheirs in obedience to his will." This looks very much like settled occupation of the post by the cavalry, and by cavalry who were Roman citizens. Another has always been a puzzle. It is given in a letter from the Rev. J. Farrer, of Witton-le-Wear, to the Rev. Mr. Randall, of Whitworth, now in the possession of the Rev. W. Greenwell, as:—

.SVLP VIC

VETT

CANN

V · S · L · M

But Mr. Farrer intimates that it was far from being perfectly legible.

* Unless the abbreviation "Con." stand for Concordiensium or Consaburen-sium, in which case the "Numerus" might be a portion of the Vettonian cavalry recruited from the neighbourhood of Concordia or of Consabrum. These were cities of Spain near to, if not actually within, the country of the Vettonians.

I will not discuss now what letters the first and third lines probably consisted of, and what they meant, but the correspondence of the second line with the tablet recently discovered is obvious and remarkable. So, also, is one of the various readings of the inscription on another altar given by Camden, Cotton, and Sibbald. Camden's reading is well known. It contains the word CARTOV Sibbald's reading, however, runs thus:—

TRIB·OI· . . T
 CART * OVAL
 MARTI VETTO
 GENIO LOCI
 LIT·IXT

Whatever may be made of the rest, the remarkable coincidence of the word VETTO, again, with the tablet just found, and with the Rev. J. Farrer's altar, is very striking.

The only inscription I have yet to notice is:—

. . MANDVS
 EX·C·FRIS
 VINOVI^e
 V·S·L·M

This Mr. Watkin renders, "Amandus, one of the Cuneus of Frisians called the Vinovian;" Dr. Hübner, "Amandus, one of the City of the Frisians, to the goddess Vinovia." A Cuneus was a body of soldiers. If Mr. Watkin's interpretation seem to militate against the occupation of the station by the Ala Vettonum, (though I do not think it necessarily does), Dr. Hübner's interpretation certainly puts no obstacle in the way. I should add that a great number of horses' teeth have been dug up during the exploration, and that several of the large buildings explored last year, on the line of the main street, in the rearward portion of the station, presented appearances in every way consistent with the hypothesis that they had been used for stabling horses on an extensive scale.

DISCOVERY OF A HOARD OF ROMAN COINS ON THE
WALL OF HADRIAN, IN NORTHUMBERLAND.

READ 28TH DECEMBER, 1879, BY JOHN CLAYTON, ESQ.

IN the month of September last, at a point where the military road from Newcastle to Carlisle* has been made on the ruins of the Wall



of Hadrian, and nearly midway between the Roman station of Condercum (Benwell) on the east, and that of Vindobala (Rudchester)

* The military road was made by the Government soon after the Rebellion of 1745 for military purposes, and its name is derived from this circumstance. It was made in many places for miles on the line of the Wall of Hadrian, where stones of the Wall may be traced in the bed of the road. It is now maintained as a turnpike road.

on the west, was found an earthenware vessel full of Roman coins. The discovery was made by an Irish labourer employed in digging for the purpose of laying water-pipes in the bed of the road. He met with the vase at a depth of four feet beneath the surface of the road, and in close proximity to the southern face of the Wall of Hadrian, and at a spot where three or four courses of stones of that wall remain *in situ* buried in the road. The lucky "Patlander" proceeded to realize the fruits of his discovery, and in doing so has shown much commercial ability.

At our monthly meeting in October the subject of this discovery was mentioned, and the coins which were the objects of it were described as the small copper coins of the Lower Empire, very many of them bearing traces of having been washed with silver, together with some coins of the base metal, which (after the French) we call "billon;" and at that meeting an expectation was expressed "that, by means of the courtesy of the purchasers of the coins, a full description of them would be laid before a future meeting."

This expectation, through the instrumentality of our colleague, Mr. Blair (an accomplished numismatist), is about to be realized.

The vessel in which the coins were contained is represented in the engraving on the previous page; it is of dark-coloured earthenware, and measures in height one foot two inches, and in girth or circumference at the widest part thirty-six inches.

The coins contained in it appear to have somewhat exceeded 5,000 in number. They are all of the same character, and all of the small brass of the Lower Empire, with the exception of a few which are of "billon." A very large proportion of the copper coins bear traces of having been washed with silver, and there is no doubt the whole have been intended to pass as Denarii, so that each of these copper coins, the metallic worth of which was less than half a farthing, was intended to represent a silver coin worth ten asses or pennies. Mr. Blair has prepared, as an appendix to this paper, a tabular description of the coins, with the legends on the reverse of such coins as he has had the means of fully describing.

The total number of coins which have been inspected is 5,024, of which 4,597 are fully described in Mr. Blair's tabular statement. There remain in the hands of the finder 416, all of which have been

examined so far as to ascertain that they contain no new type. Without doubt some of the coins have been sold in small parcels and cannot be traced, but the number of them must be very trifling; and it may be fairly assumed that the effect of an examination of them would only produce a proportionate increase of the number of each type of coin specified in the tabular statement.

Some specimens of the coins, represented by the truthful process of autotype, are appended.

At our meeting in October, an expectation was also expressed that these coins would be found of some historic interest, as illustrating a dark and disastrous period in the history of the Roman Empire, from the defeat and capture of the Emperor Valerian by Sapor, King of Persia, A.D. 260, to the accession of Aurelian, A.D. 270. In considering how far this expectation was well founded, it will be useful briefly to refer to the historic events of that period; at least such a reference will be useful to those whose memories have been impaired by lapse of time.

Of this hoard of coins there are only five anterior to the accession of Valerian. The first in date of these five coins is one of Otacilia, who was the wife of the Emperor Philip, who succeeded Gordian III., A.D. 244; and the remaining four are coins of Hostilianus, Trebonianus Gallus, Volusianus, and Æmilianus, each of whom enjoyed the title of Emperor for a brief period between the years 249 and 253.*

Valerian (P. Licinius Valerianus), by the voice of the army, accepted by the Senate, was declared Emperor A.D. 253; and as the troops had been in the habit of unmaking, by murdering them, Emperors whom they had made, Valerian seems to have immediately provided for such an occurrence in his own case, by simultaneously with his own elevation, taking his son Gallienus as his colleague, and giving him the title of Augustus.

* In the month of October, 1873, were dug up on the estate of Blackmoor, in Hampshire, belonging to Lord Selborne, two earthenware vessels, containing 29,802 Roman coins, extending over a period commencing about half a dozen years before, and ending about a quarter of a century after, this Northumbrian hoard. In the two hoards there is this singular coincidence, that each of them has five coins prior to Valerian. In the Hampshire hoard those five coins are of Gordianus, Philippus, Otacilia, Gallus, and Volusianus; in the Northumbrian hoard those five coins are as in the text. In each of the hoards one of the five coins is in duplicate, viz., in the Hampshire hoard that of Gordianus, in the Northumbrian hoard that of Volusianus.

At this period the frontiers of the Roman Empire in Europe and Asia were disturbed by the aggressions of barbarian neighbours, and conflicts with these aggressors gave to Valerian the opportunity of inscribing on the reverses of his coinage the legend of "Restitutor Orbis" and "Victoria Aug.;" and in the year 260 Valerian placed himself at the head of the Roman army in the East, for the purpose of chastising the Persians. It would seem that he anticipated success as a certainty, as we find inscribed on the coins of his last coinage the legend of "Restitutor Orientis." He advanced with his army, and, crossing the Euphrates, encountered Sapor, King of Persia, and a formidable army. The result of the encounter was the capture and permanent captivity of the Emperor Valerian, and the surrender of the shattered remnant of the Roman army. Thus terminated the joint reign of Valerian and his son Gallienus, which had lasted for seven years.

Gallienus, it was believed, was not much grieved by the events which made him sole Emperor.

The effect of those events on the Roman Empire will be best described by an extract from the historian Gibbon's great work "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire :"—

"At a time when the reins of Government were held with so loose a hand it is not surprising that a crowd of usurpers should start up in every province of the Empire against the son of Valerian. It was probably some ingenious fancy of comparing the thirty tyrants of Rome with the thirty tyrants of Athens that induced the writers of the Augustan history to select that celebrated number which has been gradually received into a popular appellation. But in every light the parallel is idle and defective.

"What resemblance can we discover between a council of thirty persons, the united oppressors of a single city, and an uncertain list of independent rivals, who rose and fell in irregular succession through the extent of a vast Empire? Nor can the number of thirty be completed, unless we include in the account the women and children who were honoured with the imperial title. The reign of Gallienus, distracted as it was, produced only nineteen pretenders to the throne; Cyriades, Macrianus, Baliste, Odenatus, and Zenobia, in the east; in Gaul and the Western Provinces, Posthumus, Lollianus, Victorinus, and his mother Victoria, Marius, and Tetricus. In Illyricum and the confines of the Danube, Ingenuus, Regilianus, and Aureolus; in Pontus Saturninus; in Isauria, Trebellianus; Piso in Thessaly; Valeres in Achaia; Æmilianus in Egypt; and Celsus in Africa. To illustrate the obscure memorials of the life and death of each

individual would prove a laborious task, alike barren of instruction and amusement.

"We may content ourselves with investigating some general characters that most strongly mark the condition of the times, and the manners of the men, their pretensions, their motives, their fate, and the destructive consequences of their usurpation.

"It is sufficiently known that the odious appellation of tyrant was employed by the ancients to express the illegal seizure of supreme power, without any reference to the abuse of it. Several of the pretenders who raised the standard of rebellion against the Emperor Gallienus were shining models of virtue, and almost all possessed a considerable share of vigour and ability. Their merit had recommended them to the favour of Valerian, and gradually promoted them to the most important commands of the Empire. The generals who assumed the title of Augustus were either respected by their troops for their able conduct and severe discipline or admired for valour, and success in war, or beloved for frankness and generosity. The field of victory was often the scene of their election; and even the armourer Marius, the most contemptible of all the candidates for the purple, was distinguished, however, by intrepid courage, matchless strength, and blunt honesty. His mean and recent trade cast indeed an air of ridicule on his election; but his birth could not be more obscure than was that of the greater part of his rivals, who were born of peasants, and enlisted in the army as private soldiers."

The information given us by Gibbon as to these usurpers, the "Tyranni triginta," is scanty, and we must for further information as to those potentates refer to the work of the Latin Historian Trebellius Pollio "*Vitæ Diversorum Principum et Tyrannorum*," from which Gibbon judiciously extracts whatever information he gives us on the subject.

Gallienus having thus assumed the position as sole Emperor, was content to see the Roman Empire dismembered, stripped of her provinces, and confined to the limits of Italy, and to spend his life at Rome in indolence, luxury, and vice. In his reign the fine bronze coin (first brass) of the earlier Empire ceased to be issued from the Roman mint, and the imperial coinage was shamefully debased. There was poured into the world an inundation of small copper coins which were washed with silver, or of the base metal styled "billon," all of which were passed as Denarii. During his repose at Rome we find him issuing coins with legends of "*Felicitas Aug.*," "*Pax Aug.*," "*Laetitia Aug.*," and "*Pax Æterna*," not the "Peace with Honour" of our modern politician, but peace with disgrace.

The invasion of the north of Italy by Aureolus, one of the tyrants of Illyrium, A.D. 268, disturbed the repose and enjoyments of the Roman Emperor. Gallienus, who was not deficient in personal courage, put himself at the head of his legions, defeated the invader, and besieged him and the remnant of his army in Milan. During the siege Gallienus was slain, it is said, by his own troops, and thus ended his reign of eight years after the capture of his father, Valerian.

The coins of Valerian in this hoard number only 49, whilst those of Gallienus number upwards of 900. We find two coins of Mariniana, the wife of Valerian, and 136 of Salonina, the wife of Gallienus, and 21 coins of Saloninus, the son of Gallienus, who received from his father the title of Cæsar immediately after the capture of Valerian.

Saloninus seems to have lost no time in exercising the privilege of coining money, as he was then with the Roman Army of the Rhine, and was murdered by the troops on the formation of the Gallic Empire by Postumus.

It will now be convenient to turn to the tyrants or usurpers, who during the reign of Gallienus held in succession the Gallic Empire, consisting of Gaul, Britain, and Spain.

M. Cassius Latienus Postumus, a brave soldier and a wise and prudent man, in the language of Pollio, "*Vir in bello fortissimus, in pace constantissimus*," was a tried and trusted general and friend of the Emperor Valerian, and was at the time of the capture of that Emperor in command of the Roman army stationed on the Rhenish frontier of Gaul. The fate of Valerian and the weakness of his son Gallienus led to anarchy and confusion throughout the Roman Empire. Postumus applied himself to the restoration of order and security in Gaul, Britain, and Spain, and assumed the title of Emperor. To him was imputed by some, complicity in the murder of Saloninus, the son of Gallienus, who had been confided to his care; but, be that as it may, he governed his new empire wisely and well, and successfully repelled the aggressions of his German neighbours.

Postumus vied with his contemporaneous Emperor at Rome in the quality, if not in the quantity, of his coinage. The coins of Postumus bear traces of exceptionally strong washings of silver. He conferred on his son Postumus the title of Augustus; and the number of the coins of father and son in this hoard amounts to more than 450.

After a reign of seven years, Postumus and his son were slain at the instigation of Laelianus, who headed a rebellion against Postumus, and after his murder assumed the title of Emperor. His reign was very short, but he effected an issue of coins, which are scarce.

In the Hampshire hoard of coins above referred to there are only eight of Laelianus. In this Northumbrian hoard there are only six. Some doubts have been entertained as to the orthography of the name of this usurper, to whom is ascribed the name of Lollianus, originating without question in an error in the transmission of the work of Pollio by manuscript for a thousand years before the invention of printing. In the printed editions of the work of Pollio, the name has been printed "Lollianus." Gibbon follows the printed edition of Pollio, and continues the error, which has since been corrected by numismatists, who find no coin, or record of a coin, of Lollianus in existence, while there are several of Laelianus.

M. Aurelius Victorinus, a brave soldier, who had been the companion in arms of Postumus, resisted the usurpation of Laelianus, which was in a few days determined by the death of the usurper, who was slain by the soldiers. Victorinus was declared Emperor by the army. He gave to his son the title of Augustus; and in this hoard are no less than 1,678 of his coins. No coins of his son are found in it; and Victorinus, after a brief reign, was, with his son, murdered by the soldiers.

On the death of Victorinus, Marius, a blacksmith—in the language of Pollio, "*faber ferrarius*"—a brave and blunt soldier, assumed the title of Emperor; but his imperial career lasted only three days—"una die factus est imperator, alia die visus est imperare, tertia interemptus est." He was slain with a sword manufactured by himself.

Notwithstanding the shortness of his reign, Marius seems to have effected a moderate issue of coins. We find in this hoard twenty-four of them. Mionnet, the French numismatist, expresses an opinion that there must have been some mistake on the part of the historian; but as Pollio wrote within fifty years of the occurrence of the event which he recorded, it is probable that he was right. The coins might have been struck in anticipation of the assumption of the title of Emperor.

Two coins from a distance belonging to this period are found in this collection, one of them of Macrianus, one of the Eastern usurpers (*Orientis tyranni*), and the other a coin of Quietus, his son. These two coins, like the monument erected by a Palmyrene at the important Roman station at South Shields, evidence the fact that the Romans in Britain, through the noble harbour of the Tyne, maintained commercial intercourse with all parts of the world.

There followed, on the death of Victorinus, a brief interregnum, during which his mother, Victorina (or, as some write, Victoria), placed herself at the head of the army, and assumed the reins of Government, which she very soon afterwards handed over to Tetricus, a man of senatorial rank, A.D. 268. In the meantime, at Rome, Claudius, one of the bravest and ablest of the generals of Valerian and Gallienus, had been, by the unanimous voice of the army and the senate, declared the successor of the feeble Gallienus. Claudius accepted the imperial purple, with the studied purpose of restoring the Roman Empire to its meridian power and glory. To drive back the Goths was the first step in his victorious career, from which he received the addition to his name of the epithet of Gothicus, by which he was distinguished from the Claudius of the first century. His efforts were then directed to the recovery of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire; but his life was unhappily terminated by an infectious fever, A.D. 270. With his dying breath he expressed his earnest desire that Aurelian (a brave and experienced general of Valerian and Gallienus) should be selected as his successor, to complete the work of the restoration of the Empire, which he had begun. We have, in this hoard of coins, nearly 700 of this great man.

The dying wishes of Claudius were fulfilled, and Aurelian (L. Domitius Aurelianus) became his successor. The elevation of Aurelian was not acquiesced in by Quintillus, the brother of Claudius, who took upon himself the title of emperor, and provided himself with money by a copious coinage, of which we have 95 specimens. Within a month, however, he gave up the enterprise and poisoned himself. We have only eight coins of Aurelian, on one of which is the head of his predecessor Claudius Gothicus, with the superscription of Aurelian, indicating a hasty coinage before the image of the new emperor had been prepared.

Tetricus (P. Pivesus Tetricus) at this time reigned over the Gallic Empire (comprising Gaul, Britain, and Spain), which he had held for about two years; he had previously given to his son first the title of Cæsar, and afterwards of Augustus; and we find in this hoard of coins, coins of himself and his son, numbering in the aggregate 516.*

Thus ends the story told by these coins. The day drew nigh when the reconstruction of the Roman Empire was completed, and it was the fate of Tetricus and his son from the West, and Zenobia from the East, to appear as captives at Rome, and to swell the triumph of Aurelian.

We arrive with tolerable certainty at the conclusion that this vase with its contents was placed in the earth in the early part of the reign of Aurelian, A.D. 270.

The occasion and circumstances of the deposit remain to be considered. At the time referred to the frontier line between the Romans and the Caledonians was, and for many years had been, the Wall of Hadrian. The Roman garrison and the Caledonians were and had been in the habit of reciprocal incursion into the countries of each other for the purposes of foraging and of fighting.

“Egit amor dapis atque pugnae.”

We have been in the habit of ascribing to the dread of these incursions the concealment of coins on or about the Wall of Hadrian. In the present case, however, guided by the knowledge and experience of our distinguished colleague, Mr. Charles Roach Smith, we take a wider view of the subject. In the fifth volume of his “*Collectanea Antiqua*” we find an account of a discovery of a hoard of coins at Nunburnholme, in Yorkshire, beginning with Valerian and ending with four coins of Aurelian, numbering in the whole 3,095.

And in the third volume of the “*Collectanea Antiqua*” will be found a very interesting description of Roman remains at Jublains, in Normandy; and of the coins found there, ending with more than 300 coins of Tetricus and his son, and a single coin of Aurelian.

* The issue of coins by Tetricus and his son would seem to have been very copious. Of the Hampshire hoard of 29,802 coins, comprising those of thirty-three imperial persons, very nearly one-half—viz., 14,028—are coins of Tetricus and his son. The Hampshire hoard extends over the whole reign of Tetricus and his son, whilst the Northumbrian hoard extends over one-third of their reign.

Several similar hoards of coins have been found in other places, both in England and in France.

On these facts Mr. Roach Smith makes remarks as follows:—"All these particular hoards of coins ending with a few of Aurelian point to the immediate prelude to the great conflict which wrested Gaul and Britain from Tetricus, and restored these provinces to the Empire through Aurelian. The numerous deposits of coins similar to this under consideration, discovered in various parts of the country, reveal a widespread apprehension of some imminent danger early in the reign of Aurelian. Troops were drawn by Tetricus from various stations to serve in Gaul, and they hid their money to be recovered should they return. It was the most certain way of preserving it when they had no relations or friends to entrust it to."

We arrive at the conclusion that the expectation that Aurelian would complete the task undertaken by Claudius of re-uniting the "disjecta membra" of the Roman Empire; and the dread pervading all classes, both civil and military, that scenes of anarchy and confusion like those which preceded the formation of the Gallic Empire by Postumus would precede or accompany its dissolution by Aurelian, induced the deposit in the soil of Northumberland of these coins, where they have rested for one thousand six hundred and nine years.

SUMMARY OR NUMERICAL LIST OF THE COINS.

| Names. | | | | | | No. of Coins of each. |
|--------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------------|
| Otacilia | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| Hostilianus | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| Trebonianus Gallus | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| Volusianus | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 |
| Æmilianus | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| Valerian | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 49 |
| Mariniana | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 |
| Gallienus | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 915 |
| Salonina | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 136 |
| Saloninus | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 21 |
| Postumus | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 454 |
| Laelianus | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6 |
| Victorinus | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,678 |
| Marius | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 24 |
| Tetricus, Sen. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 424 |
| Tetricus, Jun. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 92 |
| Macrianus | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| Quietus | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| Claudius Gothicus | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 696 |
| Quintillus | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 95 |
| Aurelian | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 8 |

 4,608

Coins remaining in the hands of the finder, which
have been inspected, but not particularly de-
scribed

| | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 416 |
| Total | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5,024 |





13



14



15



16



17



18



19



20



21



22



23



24





25



26



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31



32



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35



36





DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF THE COINS.

| Legend of Reverse. | Letters in Field. | Letters in Exer. | No. of Variety. | No. of Rv. of each Emperor. | Number of each Emperor. |
|---|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| OTACILIA— | | | | | |
| PVDICITIA AVG | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| C. VAL. HOSTILIANVS— | | | | | |
| SECVRITAS AVGG* | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| TREBONIANVS GALLVS— | | | | | |
| ADVENTVS AVG (equestrian figure) ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| C. VIB. VOLVSIANVS— | | | | | |
| 1. CONCORDIA AVGG | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 2. PIETAS AVGG | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| | | | | — | 2 |
| C. IVL. AEMILIANVS— | | | | | |
| ERCVL VICTORI | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| VALERIANVS— | | | | | |
| 1. ANNONA AVG | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 2. APOLINI CONSERVA† | ... | ... | ... | 4 | |
| 3. APOLLINI CONSERV | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 4. CONSERVAT AVG | ... | P | ... | 1 | |
| 5. DEO VOLKANO‡ | ... | ... | ... | 5 | |
| 6. FELICITAS AVGG | ... | ... | ... | 7 | |
| 7. DO. PVBLICA | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 8. FIDES MILITVM | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 9. IOVI CONSERVAT | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 10. LIBERALITAS AVGG | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 11. DO. DO. III | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 12. ORIENS AVGG | ... | ... | ... | 6 | |
| 13. PMTRP III COS III PP (seated figure) | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 14. DO. DO. DO (marching figure) | ... | ... | ... | 2 | |
| 15. DO. COS III PP | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 16. PMTRP V COS III PP (two figures standing) | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 17. PIETAS AVGG | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 18. PROVIDENTIA AVGG | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 19. RESTITVTOR ORBIS§ | ... | ... | ... | 5 | |
| 20. DO. ORIENTIS | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 21. VICTORIA AVGG | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 22. DO. DO. IT GERM | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 23. DO. GERM ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 24. VIRTVS AVGG | ... | ... | ... | 2 | |
| 25. VOTA ORBIS | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| | | | | — | 49 |
| Carried forward | ... | ... | ... | ... | 55 |

* See Plate I., No. 1. † See Plate I., No. 2. ‡ See Plate I., No. 12.

|| See Plate I., No. 3. § See Plate I., No. 4.

| Legend of Reverse. | | | | Letters in Field. | Letters in Exer. | No. of Variety. | No. of Rv. of each Emperor. | Number of each Emperor. |
|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|-----|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Brought forward | | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | 55 |
| MARINIANA— | | | | | | | | |
| 1. | CONSECRATIO | (peacock bearing empress) * | | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 2. | DO. | (peacock with tail expanded) | | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| | | | | | | | — | 2 |
| GALLIENVS— | | | | | | | | |
| 1. | AETERNITAS AVG | ... | ... | Γ | ... | 21 | | |
| 2. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 | | |
| 3. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | MT | 6 | | |
| 4. | DO. | (female standing) | ... | A | ... | 1 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 32 | |
| 5. | ABVNDANTIA AVG | ... | ... | B | ... | ... | 38 | |
| 6. | AEQVITAS AVG | ... | ... | ... | V | 3 | | |
| 7. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | Q | 1 | | |
| 8. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | ε | 4 | | |
| 9. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 14 | |
| 10. | ANNOXA AVG | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 11. | ANNOXA AVGG | ... | ... | Q | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 12. | APOLLO CONSER | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 13. | APOLLINI CONS AVG | (centaur to spectator's right) | ... | ... | Z | 25 | | |
| 14. | DO. | (do. left) | ... | ... | A | 24 | | |
| 15. | DO. | (a griffin) | ... | ... | A | 12 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 61 | |
| 16. | BON EVEN AVG | ... | ... | ... | MT | ... | 5 | |
| 17. | CONCORDIA AVG | (standing figure) | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 18. | CONCOR AVG | (seated figure) | ... | ... | PMT | ... | 2 | |
| 19. | CONCORDIA EXERCIT | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 20. | CONSERVAT PIETAT | ... | ... | ... | XII | ... | 3 | |
| 21. | DIANA FELIX | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 | |
| 22. | DIANAE CONS AVG | ... | ... | ... | ε | 29 | | |
| 23. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | X | 18 | | |
| 24. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | XI | 20 | | |
| 25. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | XII | 22 | | |
| 26. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | Γ | 19 | | |
| 27. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 30 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 138 | |
| Carried forward | | | | ... | ... | ... | 302 | 57 |

* See Plate I., No. 5.

| Legend of Reverse. | | | | Letters in Field. | Letters in Exor. | No. of Variety. | No. of Rv. of each Emperor. | Number of each Emperor. |
|--------------------|---|-----|-----|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Brought forward | | | | ... | .. | ... | 302 | 57 |
| 28. | FELICIT AVG | ... | ... | P | ... | ... | 7 | |
| 29. | DO. PVBL (seated figure) | ... | ... | ... | T | ... | 2 | |
| 30. | FELICITAS AVGG | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 31. | FIDES MILITVM | ... | ... | N | ... | 3 | | |
| 32. | DO. | ... | ... | A | ... | 2 | | |
| 33. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 8 | |
| 34. | FORTVNA — | ... | ... | S | ... | ... | 2 | |
| 35. | DO. RED (standing figure) | ... | ... | SI | ... | ... | 4 | |
| 36. | DO. REDVX (do.) | ... | ... | S | ... | 45 | | |
| 37. | DO. DO. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | | |
| 38. | DO. DO.* | ... | ... | XII | ... | 1 | | |
| 39. | DO. DO. (seated figure) | ... | ... | MS | ... | 4 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 51 | |
| 40. | GENIVS MIL | ... | ... | V | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 41. | HERCVLI CONS AVG | ... | ... | ... | ε | ... | 1 | |
| 42. | INDVLG AVG (seated figure) | ... | ... | ... | P | ... | 1 | |
| 43. | INDVLGENT AVG (standing figure) | ... | ... | ... | P | ... | 2 | |
| 44. | DO. (seated figure) | ... | ... | ... | P | ... | 1 | |
| 45. | INDVLGENTIA AVG | ... | ... | XI | .. | ... | 2 | |
| 46. | IOVI CONS AVG (a goat) | ... | ... | ... | S | ... | 23 | |
| 47. | DO. CONSERVAT | ... | ... | N | ... | ... | 18 | |
| 48. | DO. CONSERVA (eagle at feet) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | |
| 49. | DO. CONSERVATORI (two figures standing) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 50. | DO. PROPVGNAT | ... | ... | ... | XI | ... | 8 | |
| 51. | DO. PROPVGNATORI | ... | ... | ... | X | ... | 1 | |
| 52. | DO. VLTORI | ... | ... | ... | S | ... | 7 | |
| 53. | IOVIS STATOR | ... | ... | ... | S | ... | 4 | |
| 54. | LAETITIA AVG | ... | ... | ... | S | 2 | | |
| 55. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | V | 1 | | |
| 56. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | P | 3 | | |
| 57. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 20 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 26 | |
| Carried forward | | | | ... | ... | ... | 475 | 57 |

* See Plate I., No. 7.

| Legend of Reverse. | | | | Letters in Field. | Letters in Exer. | No. of Variety. | No. of Rv. of each Emperor. | Number of each Emperor. |
|--------------------|------------------------|-----------------|-----|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| - Brought forward | | | | ... | ... | ... | 475 | 57 |
| 58. | LAETITIA | AVGG | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 59. | LEG I MIN VI P VI F | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 60. | LEG III ITAL VI P VI F | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 61. | LIBERAL | AVG | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 62. | LIBERALITAS | AVGG | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 63. | LIBERTAS | AVG | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 64. | LIBERO P CONS | AVG (panther) | ... | ... | B | ... | 29 | |
| 65. | MARTI | PACIFERO | ... | ... | ... | 4 | | |
| 66. | DO. | ... | ... | A | ... | 24 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 28 | |
| 67. | NEPTVNO | CONS | AVG | ... | N | 16 | | |
| 68. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | C | 1 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 17 | |
| 69. | ORIENS | AVG | ... | ... | ... | 12 | | |
| 70. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | Z | 8 | | |
| 71. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | S | 3 | | |
| 72. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | S | 2 | | |
| 73. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | P | 2 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 27 | |
| 74. | ORIENS | AVGG | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 75. | PAX | AVG | ... | ... | S-I | 7 | | |
| 76. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 17 | | |
| 77. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | V | 10 | | |
| 78. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | S | 6 | | |
| 79. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | A | 2 | | |
| 80. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | T | 5 | | |
| 81. | DO. | (seated figure) | ... | ... | ... | 1 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 48 | |
| 82. | PAX | AVGG | ... | ... | V | ... | 5 | |
| 83. | DO. | AVGVSTI | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | |
| 84. | DO. | PVBICA | ... | ... | S | V | 2 | |
| 85. | DO. | AETERNA | ... | ... | Δ | ... | 6 | |
| 86. | DO. | DO. AVG | ... | ... | Δ | ... | 4 | |
| 87. | PIETAS | AVG | ... | ... | P | 1 | | |
| 88. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | MT | 4 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 5 | |
| Carried forward | | | | ... | ... | ... | 655 | 57 |

| Legend of Reverse. | | | | Letters in Field. | Letters in Exer. | No. of Variety. | No. of Rv. of each Emperor. | Number of each Emperor. |
|--------------------|---|-----|-----|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Brought forward | | | | .. | ... | ... | 655 | 57 |
| 89. | PMTRP XII COS | ... | ... | ... | MP | ... | 4 | |
| 90. | DO. (seated figure) | ... | ... | ... | C | ... | 1 | |
| 91. | DO. VII COS PP | ... | ... | ... | MP | ... | 2 | |
| 92. | DO. DO. IIII PP | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 93. | PROVID AVG | ... | ... | ... | ... | 10 | | |
| 94. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | X | 4 | | |
| 95. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | MP | 3 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 17 | |
| 96. | PROVI AVG | ... | ... | ... | II | ... | 2 | |
| 97. | PROVIDEN AVG | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 | |
| 98. | PROVIDENTIA AVGG | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 99. | SALVS AVG | ... | ... | ... | P | 3 | | |
| 100. | DO.* | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 | | |
| 101. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | MS | 9 | | |
| 102. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | P | 2 | | |
| 103. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | XII | 1 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 20 | |
| 104. | SECVR TEMPO | ... | ... | ... | MS | ... | 1 | |
| 105. | SECVRIT PERPET | ... | ... | ... | A | 25 | | |
| 106. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 30 | |
| 107. | SOLI CONS AVG | ... | ... | ... | A & B | ... | 20 | |
| 108. | VBERITAS AVG | ... | ... | ... | ε | 29 | | |
| 109. | DO.† | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 30 | |
| 110. | VICT GERMANICA | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | |
| 111. | DO. (obverse head in armour to observer's left) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 112. | VICTORIA GERM... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | |
| 113. | VICTORIA AVG III | ... | ... | ... | T | ... | 4 | |
| 114. | DO. AVG | ... | ... | ... | Z | 3 | | |
| 115. | DO. DO. | ... | ... | ... | B | 2 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 5 | |
| 116. | DO. AVGG | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 | |
| 117. | DO. AET | ... | ... | ... | Z | ... | 15 | |
| Carried forward | | | | ... | ... | ... | 823 | 57 |

* One of these coins is exactly the same in every respect as the coin of Claudius II. with the same reverse, the profile being like that of Claudius II., but with the letters GALLIENVS AVG round it.

† See Plate I., No. 8.

| Legend of Reverse. | | | | Letters in Field. | Letters in Exer. | No. of Variety. | No. of Rv. of each Emperor. | No. of Rv. of each Emperor. |
|--|------------------------------|-----|-----|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Brought forward | | | | ... | ... | ... | 823 | 57 |
| 118. | VIRTVS AVGVSTI | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | | |
| 119. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | X | 2 | | |
| 120. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | P | 1 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 6 | |
| 121. | VIRTVS AVG | ... | ... | ... | A | 2 | | |
| 122. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | X | 1 | | |
| 123. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | P | 4 | | |
| 124. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | VI | 3 | | |
| 125. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | ... | P | 1 | |
| 126. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | X & P | 14 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 25 | |
| 127. | VIRTVS AVGG* | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 128. | VOTA DECENNALIA | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | |
| | | | | | | | — | |
| | | | | | | | 857 | |
| In possession of finder; not examined... | | | | ... | ... | ... | 58 | |
| | | | | | | | — | 915 |
| SALONINA— | | | | | | | | |
| 1. | AVG IN PACE | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 | |
| 2. | AVGVSTA IN PACE | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 3. | CONCORDIA AVG | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 4. | DO. AVGG | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | |
| 5. | DEAE SEGETIAE† | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | |
| 6. | FECVNDITAS AVGG‡ | ... | ... | ... | Δ | ... | 25 | |
| 7. | FELICIT PVBL | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | |
| 8. | IVNONI CONS AVG | ... | ... | ... | ... | ∠ | 10 | |
| 9. | IVNO CONSERVAT | ... | ... | ... | N | ... | 5 | |
| 10. | DO. REGINA | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 25 | |
| 11. | DO. VICTRIX | ... | ... | ... | S | ... | 2 | |
| 12. | PIETAS AVG (standing figure) | ... | ... | } | ... | ... | 7 | |
| 13. | DO. (seated figure) | ... | ... | | ... | ... | 2 | |
| 14. | PIETAS AVGG | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | |
| 15. | PVDICITIA (standing figure) | ... | ... | ... | Q | ... | 7 | |
| 16. | DO. (seated figure) | ... | ... | ... | N | 2 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 9 | |
| Carried forward | | | | ... | ... | ... | 97 | 972 |

* See Plate I., No. 6.

† See Plate I., No. 9.

‡ See Plate I., No. 10.

| Legend of Reverse. | | | | Letters in Field. | Letters in Exer. | No. of Variety. | No. of Rv. of each Emperor. | Number of each Emperor. |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Brought forward | | | | ... | ... | ... | 97 | 972 |
| 17. VENVS DO. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 18. DO. GENETRIX | ... | ... | VI | ... | ... | ... | 6 | |
| 19. DO. VICTRIX | ... | ... | X | ... | ... | ... | 8 | |
| 20. VESTA (seated figure) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 9 | | |
| 21. DO. (standing figure) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 11 | |
| 22. DO. FELIX | ... | ... | S | ... | ... | ... | 3 | |
| | | | | | | | 126 | |
| In possession of finder; not examined... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 10 | 136 |
| SALONINVS— | | | | | | | | |
| 1. CONSECRATIO (eagle) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 | | |
| 2. DO. (altar) * | ... | .. | ... | ... | ... | 4 | | |
| 3. DO. (eagle bearing emperor) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 10 | |
| 4. PIETAS AVG | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 | |
| 5. PRINCI IVVENT | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 6. SPES PVBLICA | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | | |
| 7. DO. (two figures standing) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 3 | |
| Not examined | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 21 |
| POSTVMVS— | | | | | | | | |
| 1. CONCORD EQVITVM | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6 | |
| 2. COS IIII | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 10 | |
| 3. COS V | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | |
| 4. DIANA LVCIFERAE | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | |
| 5. FELICITAS AVG | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 17 | |
| 6. FIDES EXERCITVS (four standards) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 7. DO. AEQVIT (seated figure) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | | |
| 8. DO. DO. | ... | ... | ... | ... | P | 8 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 9 | |
| 9. DO. MILITVM | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 9 | |
| 10. FORTVNA AVG | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | |
| 11. HERC PACIFERO | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 15 | |
| 12. DO. DEVSONIENSI | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 19 | |
| 13. IMP X COS V | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 14 | |
| Carried forward | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 106 | 1,129 |

* See Plate I., No. 11.

| Legend of Reverse. | | | | Letters in Field. | Letters in Exer. | No. of Variety. | No. of Rv. of each Emperor. | Number of each Emperor. |
|--------------------|--|-----|-----|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Brought forward | | | | ... | ... | ... | 106 | 1,129 |
| 14. | IOVI PROPVGNATORI | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 | |
| 15. | DO. STATORI | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 12 | |
| 16. | DO. VICTORI | ... | ... | ... | ... | 16 | | |
| 17. | DO. DO. | ... | ... | CA | ... | 1 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 17 | |
| 18. | LAETITIA AVG (a galley) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 15 | |
| 19. | MERCVRIO FELICI* | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 20. | MINER FAVTR | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | |
| 21. | MONETA AVG | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 41 | |
| 22. | NEPTVNO REDVCI | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | |
| 23. | ORIENS AVG | ... | ... | P | ... | ... | 26 | |
| 24. | PACATOR ORBIS | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | |
| 25. | PAX AVG (standing figure) | ... | ... | ... | ... | 11 | | |
| 26. | DO. (do.) | ... | ... | P | ... | 46 | | |
| 27. | DO. (figure marching to left) | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 58 | |
| 28. | PAX EQVITVM | ... | ... | ... | T | ... | 1 | |
| 29. | PMTRP COS II PP | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 29 | |
| 30. | DO. IIII COS III PP | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 7 | |
| 31. | DO. DO. IIII PP (bow, quiver, &c.) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 32. | DO. X COS V PP (Victory inscribing vo on shield xx) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | |
| 33. | PROVIDENTIA AVG | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 13 | |
| 34. | REST ORBIS† (emperor raising a kneeling figure) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 35. | SAECVLI FELICITAS | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 16 | |
| 36. | SALVS AVG (Æsculapius) | ... | ... | ... | ... | 9 | | |
| 37. | DO. (Salus) | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 10 | |
| 38. | SALVS POSTVMI AVG‡ | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 39. | DO. PROVINCIARVM | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 | |
| 40. | SERAPI COMITI AVG | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 | |
| 41. | VBERTAS AVG | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 42. | VICTORIA AVG | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 18 | |
| 43. | VICT GERMANICA | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| Carried forward | | | | ... | ... | ... | 397 | 1,129 |

* See Plate II., No. 15. † See Plate II., No. 14. ‡ See Plate II., No. 13.

|| See Plate II., No. 16. Ascribed by some numismatists to Postumus, jun.

| Legend of Reverse. | Letters in Field. | Letters in Exer. | No. of Variety. | No. of Rv. of each Emperor. | Number of each Emperor. |
|---|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Brought forward | ... | ... | ... | 397 | 1,129 |
| 44. VIRTVS AVG (2 varieties)... | ... | ... | ... | 12 | |
| 45. DO. EQVIT ... | ... | ... | ... | 9 | |
| 46. DO. AEQVIT ... | ... | T | ... | 1 | |
| 47. VIRTVTI AVGVSTI ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| | | | | 420 | |
| In possession of finder; not examined... | .. | ... | ... | 34 | 454 |
| LAELIANVS— | | | | | |
| 1. VICTORIA AVG*... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6 |
| VICTORINVS— | | | | | |
| 1. AEQVITAS AVG† | ... | ... | ... | 19 | |
| 2. CONSECRATIO (obv., DIVO VICTORINO PIO) | ... | ... | ... | 2 | |
| 3. FIDES MILITVM‡ | ... | ... | ... | 18 | |
| 4. FIDIE (sic) DO. ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | |
| 5. INVICTVS | ... | * | ... | 396 | |
| 6. PAX AVG | ... | ... | 2 | | |
| 7. DO.§ | ... | V-* | 402 | | |
| | | | | 404 | |
| 8. IPVAX AV (a rude coin) | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 9. PIETAS AVG | ... | ... | ... | 162 | |
| 10. PROVIDENTIA AVG | ... | ... | ... | 185 | |
| 11. SALVS AVG** | ... | ... | 226 | | |
| 12. DO. (altar) | ... | ... | 105 | | |
| | | | | 331 | |
| 13. VICTORIA AVG | ... | ... | ... | 14 | |
| 14. VIRTVS AVG | ... | ... | ... | 131 | |
| 15. DO. PVBLICA | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| | | | | 1666 | |
| Not examined ... | ... | ... | ... | 12 | 1,678 |
| Carried forward | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3,267 |

* See Plate II., No. 17.

† Some of the profiles on coins with this reverse are unlike Victorinus and very like his predecessor Postumus. For an instance of this, see the coin No. 18, Plate II.

‡ See Plate II., No. 20. || See Plate II., No. 21. § See Plate II., No. 22.

** See Plate II., No. 19.

| Legend of Reverse. | Letters in Field. | Letters in Exer. | No. of Variety. | No. of Rv. of each Emperor. | Number of each Emperor. |
|--|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Brought forward | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3,267 |
| MARIVS— | | | | | |
| 1. CONCORDIA MILITVM* | ... | ... | ... | 5 | |
| 2. CONCORD MILIT | ... | ... | ... | 2 | |
| 3. SAECVLI FELICITAS | ... | ... | ... | 3 | |
| 4. SAEC DO.† | ... | ... | ... | 5 | |
| 5. VICTORIA AVG (2 varieties)‡ | ... | ... | ... | 9 | |
| | | | | — | 24 |
| TETRICVS, SEN.— | | | | | |
| 1. COMES AVG | ... | ... | ... | 63 | |
| 2. FIDES MILITVM | ... | ... | ... | 45 | |
| 3. HILARITAS AVGG | ... | ... | ... | 13 | |
| 4. LAETITIA AVG N§ | ... | ... | ... | 82 | |
| 5. DO. AVGG | ... | ... | ... | 3 | |
| 6. PAX AVG | ... | ... | ... | 108 | |
| 7. PAX AVGG | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 8. SALVS AVG | ... | ... | ... | 5 | |
| 9. SPES AVG | ... | ... | ... | 2 | |
| 10. DO. PVBLICA | ... | ... | ... | 49 | |
| 11. VICTORIA AVG | ... | ... | ... | 14 | |
| 12. VIRTVS AVG | ... | ... | ... | 11 | |
| 13. DO. AVGG | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| | | | | 397 | |
| In possession of finder; not examined... | ... | ... | ... | 27 | 424 |
| TETRICVS, JUN.— | | | | | |
| 1. COMES AVG | ... | ... | ... | 2 | |
| 2. CONCORDIA AVGG | ... | ... | ... | 2 | |
| 3. PAX AVG | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 4. PIETAS AVG | ... | ... | ... | 3 | |
| 5. DO. AVGG | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 6. PIETAS AVGVSTOR | ... | ... | ... | 23 | |
| 7. SPES AVGG** | ... | ... | ... | 26 | |
| 8. DO. PVBLICA | ... | ... | ... | 24 | |
| 9. PRINC IVVENT | ... | ... | ... | 3 | |
| 10. VIRTVS AVGVSTO | ... | ... | ... | 3 | |
| 11. CTETAS (sic) | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| | | | | 89 | |
| In possession of finder; not examined... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | 92 |
| Carried forward | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3,807 |

* See Plate III., No. 25.

† See Plate II., No. 24.

‡ See Plate II., No. 23.

|| See Plate III., No. 27.

§ See Plate III., No. 26.

** See Plate III., No. 28.

| Legend of Reverse. | | | | Letters in field. | Letters in Exer. | No. Variety. | No. of R. of each Emperor. | Number of each Emperor. |
|-------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Brought forward | | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3,807 |
| MACRIANVS— | | | | | | | | |
| 1. IOVI CONSERVATORI | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| QVIETVS— | | | | | | | | |
| 1. SPES PVBLICA | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| CLAVDIVS GOTHICVS— | | | | | | | | |
| 1. ADVENTVS AVG | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 2. AEQVITAS AVG* | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 41 | |
| 3. AETERNIT AVG | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 | | |
| 4. DO.† | ... | ... | N | ... | 2 | — | 7 | |
| 5. ANNONA AVG | ... | ... | ... | ... | 24 | | | |
| 6. DO. | ... | ... | A | ... | 3 | — | 27 | |
| 7. APOLLINI CONS | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | | | |
| 8. DO. | ... | ... | A | ... | 2 | | | |
| 9. DO. | ... | ... | N | ... | 1 | — | 5 | |
| 10. CONSECRATIO (eagle) | ... | ... | ... | ... | 26 | | | |
| 11. DO. (altar) | ... | ... | ... | ... | 25 | | | |
| 12. DO. (do.) (obv. DIVO CLAVDIO) ‡ | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | | | |
| 13. DO. (do.) | ... | ... | T | ... | 1 | — | 53 | |
| 14. DIANA LVCIF | ... | ... | P | ... | ... | | 3 | |
| 15. FELICITAS AVG | ... | ... | ... | ... | 16 | | | |
| 16. DO. | ... | ... | B | ... | 7 | — | 23 | |
| 17. DO. SAECVLI | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | | 1 | |
| 18. FELIC TEMPO | ... | ... | T | ... | ... | | 16 | |
| 19. FIDES EXERCI | ... | ... | ... | ... | 25 | | | |
| 20. DO. | ... | ... | XI | ... | 10 | | | |
| 21. DO. | ... | ... | S | ... | 1 | — | 36 | |
| 22. FIDES MILITVM | ... | ... | ... | ... | 11 | | | |
| 23. DO. | ... | ... | ε | ... | 6 | — | 17 | |
| Carried forward | | | | ... | ... | ... | 230 | 3,809 |

* Some coins with this reverse have "S" in field.

† See Plate III., No. 30. ‡ See Plate III., No. 31.

| Legend of Reverse. | | | | Letters in Field. | Letters in Exer. | No. of Variety. | No. of Rv. of each Emperor. | Number of each Emperor. |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------|-----|-----|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Brought forward | | | | ... | ... | ... | 230 | 3,809 |
| 24. | FORTVNA REDVX | ... | ... | Z | ... | ... | 5 | |
| 25. | GENIVS AVG | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6 | | |
| 26. | DO. | ... | ... | Γ | ... | 9 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 15 | |
| 27. | GENIVS EXERCI | ... | ... | ... | ... | 20 | | |
| 28. | DO. | ... | ... | Z | ... | 5 | | |
| 29. | DO. | ... | ... | E | ... | 5 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 30 | |
| 30. | IOVI VICTORI | ... | ... | ... | ... | 28 | | |
| 31. | DO. | ... | ... | N | ... | 6 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 34 | |
| 32. | IOVI STATORI | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 15 | |
| 33. | LAETITIA AVG | ... | ... | ... | ... | 13 | | |
| 34. | DO. | ... | ... | XII | ... | 1 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 14 | |
| 35. | LIBERALITAS AVG | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6 | |
| 36. | LIBERT AVG | ... | ... | ... | ... | 7 | | |
| 37. | DO. | ... | ... | X | ... | 8 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 15 | |
| 38. | MARS VLTOR | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 28 | |
| 39. | MARTI PACIFERO | ... | ... | X | ... | ... | 2 | |
| 40. | PAX AVGVSTI | ... | ... | A | ... | 2 | | |
| 41. | DO. | ... | ... | .. | ... | 1 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 3 | |
| 42. | PAX AVG | ... | ... | S | ... | 6 | | |
| 43. | DO. (marching figure) | ... | ... | N | ... | 8 | | |
| 44. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | T | 5 | | |
| 45. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | P | 1 | | |
| 46. | DO. (seated figure) | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 23 | |
| 47. | PMTRP II COS PP | ... | ... | A | ... | 10 | | |
| 48. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 9 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 19 | |
| 49. | PROVIDENT AVG | ... | ... | XII | ... | 9 | | |
| 50. | DO. (obv., head to left, in armour) | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | | |
| 51. | DO.* | ... | ... | S | ... | 5 | | |
| 52. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 22 | | |
| 53. | DO. | ... | ... | T | ... | 1 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 38 | |
| Carried forward | | | | ... | ... | ... | 477 | 3,809 |

* See Plate III., No. 29.

| Legend o Reverse. | | | | Letters in Field. | Letters in Exer. | No. of Variety. | No. of Rv. of each Emperor. | Number of each Emperor. |
|--|------------------|-------------------|-----|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Brought forward | | | | ... | ... | ... | 477 | 3,809 |
| 54. | SALVS AVG | (female figure) | ... | ... | ... | 8 | | |
| 55. | DO. | (male figure) | ... | ... | MP | 1 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 9 | |
| 56. | SECVRIT AVG | ... | ... | XI | ... | ... | 5 | |
| 57. | SPES AVG | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | | |
| 58. | DO. | ... | ... | N | ... | 4 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 5 | |
| 59. | SPES EXERC | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 60. | DO. PVBLICA | ... | ... | ... | P | ... | 16 | |
| 61. | VICTORIA AVG | ... | ... | ... | Γ | 2 | | |
| 62. | DO. | ... | ... | A | ... | 11 | | |
| 63. | DO. | (figure to right) | ... | ... | ... | 7 | | |
| 64. | DO. | ... | ... | Γ | ... | 6 | | |
| 65. | DO. | (figure to left) | ... | ... | ... | 34 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 60 | |
| 66. | VIRTVS AVG | (standing figure) | ... | ə | P | 9 | | |
| 67. | DO. | (marching figure) | ... | ə | P | 5 | | |
| 68. | DO. | ... | ... | B | ... | 2 | | |
| 69. | DO. | ... | ... | ε | ... | 7 | | |
| 70. | DO. | ... | ... | A | ... | 2 | | |
| 71. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 41 | | |
| 72. | DO. | ... | ... | ə | ... | 2 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 68 | |
| | | | | | | | 641 | |
| In possession of finder; not examined... | | | | ... | ... | ... | 55 | |
| QVINTILLVS— | | | | | | | | 696 |
| 1. | AETERNIT AVG | ... | ... | ... | X | ... | 4 | |
| 2. | APOLLIN CONS | ... | ... | N | ... | ... | 2 | |
| 3. | APOLLINI CONSERV | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 4. | CONCORDIA AVG | ... | ... | ... | A | ... | 4 | |
| 5. | CONCO AVG | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | |
| 6. | FIDES MILITVM | ... | ... | ε | ... | 6 | | |
| 7. | DO. | ... | ... | A | ... | 1 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 7 | |
| 8. | FORTVNA REDVX | ... | ... | X | ... | 4 | | |
| 9. | DO. | ... | ... | Z | ... | 2 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 6 | |
| Carried forward | | | | ... | ... | ... | 27 | 4,505 |

| Legend of Reverse | | | | Letters in Field. | Letters in Exer. | No. of Variety. | No. of Rv. of each Emperor. | Number of each Emperor. |
|---|-------------------|-----|-----|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Brought forward | | | | ... | ... | ... | 27 | 4,505 |
| 10. | LAETITIA AVG | ... | ... | ... | XII | 2 | | |
| 11. | DO. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 7 | | |
| 12. | DO.* | ... | ... | ... | XII | 3 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 12 | |
| 13. | MARTI PACIF | ... | ... | ... | X | ... | 4 | |
| 14. | PAX AVGVSTI | ... | ... | ... | A | ... | 6 | |
| 15. | PROVIDENT AVG | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6 | | |
| 16. | DO.† | ... | ... | ... | S | 8 | | |
| | | | | | | — | 14 | |
| 17. | SECVRIT AVG | ... | ... | ... | XI | ... | 9 | |
| 18. | VICTORIA AVG | ... | ... | ... | T | ... | 9 | |
| 19. | VIRTVS AVG | ... | ... | ... | B | ... | 7 | |
| | | | | | | | — | |
| | | | | | | | 88 | |
| In possession of finder; not examined... | | | | ... | ... | ... | 7 | |
| | | | | | | | — | 95 |
| AVRELIAN— | | | | | | | | |
| 1. | CONCORDIA AVG... | ... | ... | ... | XT | ... | 1 | |
| 2. | GENIVS ILLYR | ... | ... | ... | P | ... | 2 | |
| 3. | IOVI CONSERVATORI | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| 4. | PROVIDENT AVG† | ... | ... | ... | S | ... | 1 | |
| 5. | ROMAE AETERNÆ | ... | ... | ... | P | ... | 1 | |
| 6. | VICTORIA AVG† § | ... | ... | ... | Γ | ... | 1 | |
| 7. | VIRTVS AVG | ... | ... | ... | B | ... | 1 | |
| | | | | | | | — | 8 |
| In possession of finder, but not allocated, about | | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | 416 |
| GRAND TOTAL | | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5,024 |

* See Plate III., No. 33.

† Same reverse as coin of Claudius, see Plate III., Nos. 29 & 32.

‡ The profile on obverse of these coins is like that of Claudius II., see Plate III., Nos. 34 and 35.

|| See Plate III., No. 36.

§ See Plate III., No. 34.

ESCOMBE CHURCH.

By W. H. D. LONGSTAFFE.

THE position of Escombe, near Auckland, up the Wear, apart from any old main road of much use, and its subjection as a parochial chapelry to the parish of St. Andrew, Auckland, have occasioned, in the absence of any proper notice by our writers, an entire oversight on the part of archaeologists of the only perfect example of a Saxon church now existing in Bernicia. For the pre-Norman period we have divers towers, a chancel at Jarrow, a remarkable west end at Wearmouth of very early and superior workmanship, and a fine crypt at Hexham composed of small ornamental Roman stones. But at Escombe we find a church Saxon from end to end, and here the ruins of Vinovium formed a ready quarry, much more accessible in ancient times than now, the river having materially changed its course and thrown much of the intervening district to the other side of the water.

The history of Escombe, as it has for some centuries been called, commences with its name Ediscum. We may perhaps fairly consent to the proposition that the final syllable of that name refers to the low part of the township, or rather perhaps to its banks and ancient configuration, than to its more elevated portions. On the whole of the very difficult subject of the meaning, or rather meanings, of the word *comb*, Dufresne's Glossarium of Low-Latin, Bosworth's Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon, and Halliwell's Dictionary of Archaic, words may be usefully consulted. It extended all over the west of Europe, and had some sort of signification sufficiently precise to justify its employment in charters as devoting private property outside of the forest. Of course, under such circumstances, it is no index to either race or date. The first part of the word Ediscum seems to have a personal reference. It is spelt exactly in the same way as the commencement of Edisbrig, the name of an estate near Muggleswick, in the conventual inventory of 1464. This name at the bridge over the Derwent there is now called

Eddysbridge, but the old spellings, Edyedsbridge, Eedesbrige, and Eedeedsbrig, throw a doubt on the propriety of the pronunciation. In Cheshire there is an Edesbery, or Eddesbury, which was built in 914 by Æthelflæd, lady of the Mercians, and which, when in ruin, was called The Chamber in the Forest.

Supposing that Ediscum was the *comb* of some male or female Eda or Ede, no light is thrown upon its history by such an interpretation. In 801 Edwine, who was also called Eda, formerly a *dux* of the Northumbrians and then an abbot, was buried in his monastery of Gainford. But the name was common. On a single leaf of the Surtees Society's print of the Durham Book of Life we have Eda, Ida, Æda, and Ede. The abbreviation of the name may have taken place when Bishop Pudsey granted to Humphrey the Charioteer six acres in Edescumb. Yet in the celebrated Boldon Buke of the same prelate we have, as to this estate, the contracted form of Escumb. It must be confessed that the later copies of Boldon Buke, to which we are driven, vary provokingly. Thus we have both Edmansley and Edmondesley. The former is unquestionably the real name, as, in the miracles of St. Godric, we find "a woman, Eda by name, of Edemanneslaye." This occurrence shows how careful expounders of names should be that they obtain the early orthographies.

The story of the building up of the eventual palatinate presents many difficulties which cannot be effectually discussed among these remarks. In whatever way "Ediscum" came to the church, its first appearance is in the Oxford additions to the venerable History of St. Cuthbert's stores. There we have an enumeration of various estates, practically the modern parishes of Gainford and St. Andrew's Auckland, including, *inter alia*, two Alclits, Bynceastre, and Ediscum, lent or mortgaged by Bishop Aldhun and the Congregation "to these three, Ethred eorle, and Northman eorle, and Uthred eorle," with a curse upon any one who should abstract anything in respect of them from St. Cuthbert. Of these four individuals Bishop Aldhun changed the see from Chester-le-Street to Durham in 995, and erected two successive churches of stone there. "Ethred and Northman nowhere occur as earls of Northumberland, nor are they so described in our text. They were probably Danes, who exercised authority during the usurpation of Sweyn, to whom earl Uchtred refused his allegiance, as we know their countryman Yric did under Cnut."—(Hinde.) Next, according to the same history,

Canute gave to the church Staindrop and an Aclit and some other places not previously named, which seem principally to compose the modern parishes of Staindrop and St. Helen's Auckland. The substantial truth of the old historian's statements is supported by the independent evidence contained in the Durham Book of Life as to "Northman eorle" *syling*, i.e., selling, not necessarily for any pecuniary consideration, into St. Cuthbert "Ediscum." How the rest of the parish of St. Andrew's Auckland was recovered does not appear. That it *was* recovered is plain. That Gainford was lost is also plain. Symeon, who seems, even at his early period, to have felt the perplexities of the Durham history, after noticing some specific grants to the church of lands in the Darlington district, says, that there were other landed properties "which Bishop Aldhun, compelled by the pressure of the times, transferred for a period to the earls of the Northumbrians; but *nearly all* of these were alienated from the church by the violence of their successors in the earldom. Some of them are here [he says] specified by name." Then he gives the old historian's list of places, spelling our *locus in quo* "Ediscum" as before, and ends with:—"All these were once the property of that church which, while she sought to benefit those who were in necessity, thereby endangered her own interests."

It is singular that our information should be so scanty, but we may infer that Escombe was returned to the church separately from other places which were, eventually, returned, and that the particulars of the return of the main portion of the parish of St. Andrew's Auckland, in which Escombe settled down as a township, prebend, and parochial chapelry, was unknown to our first reliable authorities. The oldest historian records the curse upon any tamperer with the reversion or equity of redemption; the life-promiser records the surrender by Northman, a titular earl of Ediscum, and Symeon's "nearly all" must mean something or other. The character of the documents put forward as the early charters of Durham Cathedral is lamentable, and all that we can do is to be thankful for the generally firm ground on which we stand when we arrive at the episcopate of Bishop Pudsey, by the time of which the civil and ecclesiastical arrangements of the recovered and acquired estates would appear to have been tolerably well made in an altered form not much different from that which subsisted until a recent period.

In his Boldon Buke of 1183, *non obstante* any error of MS. detail, the history of Escombe emerges. Matters had been brought to some bearing. A Heghyngtonshire, in which one or two Thickleys (the name of Thiccelea being found in Aldhun's mortgage or loan, and Canute's grant) appear, had arisen. And Alcletshire and West Acletshire had arisen with mills for each. All the independence of Escombe, which must have existed when it alone had been returned to the church, had disappeared. Its villans worked as those of North Aclet did. This would probably only mean what is now known as "the custom of the country." A collier found coals, mineral or made from wood, for the making of the ploughshares of Coundon. West Auckland had to do works between Tyne and Tees; and then to some extent West Aclet, like Escumb, had ceased to be independent. "All villans of Acletshire, to wit, of North Aclet and West Aclet, and Escumb and Newton, at the Bishop's great chases," did certain works. "Besides, all villans and fermors go in *rahunt* at the Bishop's summons, and to the working of the mills of West Acletshire."

Escombe is a somewhat picturesque village, its main buildings surrounding a small God's-croft, occupying the centre of a quasi-town's-green. Some, many of us, must remember the beauty of the churchyards of England in our boyhood, with the footpaths, the sheep, the wild geraniums, the unlettered graves, the undestroyed and undisturbed tombstones high or low, railed or unrailed, and the solemn lessons now but little taught. The God's-croft of Escombe, whatever may have been its former state, differs. Its sepulchral purposes have ceased, and Flora reigns supremely. There is something about the old enclosure of Escombe and the ancient church within it which should be treated and helped by loving hearts within the earldom of Northumberland, including, of course, the so-called counties of Norham, Hexham, Durham, and Sadberge, with divers other franchises within that princely successor of the Linea Valli and of the subsequent Bernicia.

The church possesses that cyclopæan masonry familiar to us by reason of the lower part of the north wall of Ebchester chancel, which is built within the walls of a station on or near to Iter I.; and, at first sight, that at its angles might be taken for long-and-short work. It is, however, good quoined work. Too much has been made of supposed chronological masonries. As far as long-and-short work is concerned, that

portion of Whittingham tower of which the custodiers of the fabric have suffered the existence is, probably, the only, or almost the only, example of such building in our diocese. Bloxham noticed the absence of it in the church of Brixworth, which he considered to be "perhaps the most complete specimen existing of the early Anglo-Saxon era," and in the chancel of Jarrow Church, which all authorities admit to be of Saxon date. Whether the remains at Jarrow are a portion of the main church of St. Paul, built shortly after the erection of that of St. Peter at Wearmouth, is a question. From the absence of the baluster shafts, which are found *in situ* at Wearmouth, but only existed as building materials in another portion of Jarrow Church, the negative suggests itself. It forms, therefore, no portion of the plan of this paper to discuss a confessedly difficult point as to the precise period at which the later Saxon works were constructed, separated as they are from our early Norman works by documentary evidences and "sermons in stones."

It may be premised that the lights in the south side and the west end (the distinction between a side and an end of a church or a table should always be observed in words and acts) of Escombe Church closely resemble those in Jarrow chancel, and that the chancel arch, tall in proportion, reminds one of that at Brigstock Church and of the tower arch at Corbridge. The next noticeable point is the considerable height of the church in combination with an exceptionally short chancel. The general pose of the building may, to some extent, be gained by Parker's cut of the church of Bradford-on-Avon. But the chancel of Escombe is proportionally still shorter than that at Bradford, and any exterior ornament is furnished not by panelling but by the broaching or cross-hatching and other conventionalisms of the Romans. In the walls for most of their height we observe large stones, many of which large stones are so treated. Their hickety-pickety occurrence shows plainly that they came from an earlier settlement. One unbroached stone presents CV upside down, possibly having no connection with *Civitas* or *Vinovium*.* Another has a pellet within an annulet in relief. We are all of us familiar with the small ornamental and plain stones on the direct line of the Roman Wall and at Chesterholm and Hexham.

* It appears from a later account of the church by Mr. Pritchett that this stone presents LEG VI. In the south wall of the church is one presenting "a serpent or eel-like fish."

But the startling size of the stones at Escombe, ornamented and plain, mural and corner, leads, like the Ebchester evidence, to much thought as to the structural differences between the line of the Wall and Iter I.

There is another peculiarity about the walls at Escombe. At their tops there are a few courses of smaller stones. Our first idea was that the thrust of the roof had displaced its support, and that this portion of the building had been rebuilt. The masonry of the angles forbade the notion of an independent addition to the height at a later period, and it may at once be observed that, judging from Bradford-on-Avon Church, the timbers of the roof at Escombe seem to represent very fairly the original pitch of it—neither very high nor very low. The first idea had to be abandoned, because one of the Jarrow-like lights occurs *in situ* among the smaller stones in the western gable. Two solutions present themselves. Either the Roman quarry failed, or the Escombe Commissioners were unpleasantly reminded by some Earl of Binchester of the eighth commandment. The recent excavations at Vinovium may aid in determining the point in favour of the latter surmise. The fact that a portion of a Saxon cross lies at the northern springing of the eastern gable of the nave does not help us. It may have been placed there at any time, and, so far as can at present be judged, it seems to be of a period earlier than that of the present church, early though it be, and reminds one of the Hexham School of Art. And here is opened that question which has long exercised us—the relation of the dedications to the ancient diocesan systems. St. Andrew's Auckland, with its piece of a Saxon cross of the Aycliffe type, is not the only place having a church dedicated, as was a church at Hexham, to St. Andrew. And what is the history of that St. Wolfrid's acre at Escombe whereof Sir Ralph Eure died seized in Cardinal Langley's time? The idea at the present day is that Escombe Church is dedicated to St. John.

The one bell of 1577 is in substance, or by substitution, to the fore. There are two elegant "shouldered" early English lights, one lowered internally for sedilia, a simple semicircular piscina of the same date, and square-headed windows and a square-headed doorway on the north side of the nave. This doorway is in the centre of the nave, as is the doorway at Bradford. Finally, the font is of an oblong octagonal form, as if to suit immersion, and there is a miniature Norman grave-stone with two rosettes tied to the cross.

THE NORTHERN STATIONS OF THE NOTITIA.

 BY W. H. D. LONGSTAFFE.

DURING the revision of a map to illustrate my paper on the north-western stations under the government of the honourable Duke of Britain in the period of Arcadius and Honorius, fresh evidences and considerations have occurred to me, and, abandoning the supplement intended for the annual meeting, I propose to treat succinctly the whole of the Notitia relating to the North of England.

I.—As to “the prefect of the Sixth Legion,” its head-quarters were at York, but it was generally useful.

II.—As to “the prefect of the Dalmatian horsemen at Præsidium,” much controversy has arisen as to whether it is the same with Prætorium of the first Iter, as to the locality of the latter, and whether *Præsidio* may not merely mean “in garrison,” at York or elsewhere. All difficulty seems to be removed by placing Præsidium at what is considered to be Ptolemy’s Petuaria, Brugh-upon-Humber, where the great road from Lincoln made its *varia* or passage over the river Abus or Humber, which is near to Ocellum Promontorium. Thus would the next station, Doncaster, be guarded by an outpost on this vast estuary at the south-eastern limit of the country comprised in these northern Notitia, exactly as Carlisle at its north-western limit was guarded by Tunnocelum. It is worthy of note that a fragment reading BREXARO was found at Brugh, and that it appears by Gruter that the “Numer. Dalmat.” had an officer called an Exarchus. (See Horsley, 314, 374, 407.)

III.—As to “the prefect of the Crispian horsemen at Danum,” this on itinerary evidence was Doncaster on one of the tributaries of the Humber, which is considered to be a boundary of the Brigantes and of the possibly subject Parisii.

IV.—As to “the prefect of a body of cuirassiers at Morbium,” by following the bounding stream and what is believed to be a military

way, we come to Templeborough, the recognised Morbium, an allocation which there is no reason to disturb. We have now arrived at the natural barrier against the west, and may grope our way northwards towards the *linea valli* to be specially defended.

V.—As to “the prefect of a detachment of the Barcarii Trigrienses at Arbeia,” we, keeping on the east side of the “backbone of England,” first meet with Ilkley on the Wharfe, and I am doubtful whether Arbeia should be considered to be the name of the station or merely as descriptive of its situation, just as we have a great railway station called Trent. On a well-known altar found here, dedicated by a prefect of the second cohort of the Lingones, the Wharfe is treated as Verbeia. Four or five roads met at Ilkley. It has been supposed to be the Olicana of Ptolemy and the Olenacum of the Notitia, but, whatever may become of Olicana, Ilkley cannot well be Olenacum. The course to Lavatræ shall still be followed.

VI.—As to “the prefect of a detachment of the Dictensian Nervii at Dictis,” the next fort, that at Brugh, near Bainbridge, and about a mile from Askrigg in Wensleydale, produced an inscription commemorating its construction with stone by the sixth cohort of the Nervians. A road is marked by Hughes as proceeding northwards from it towards the western Watling Street, leading from Greta Bridge to Bowes (Lavatræ), and striking it midway between the two places.

VII.—As to “the prefect of a detachment of watchers (*vigiles*) at Concangium,” we feel that, on arriving at this road which we have now to follow westwards until we shall be on the verge of the *linea valli*, we have arrived at a perilous frontier region, for our three next prefects are, at well known itinerary stations, those of a detachment of *exploratores* at Lavatræ (Bowes), a detachment of *directores* at Verteræ (Brugh), and a detachment of *defensores* at Braboniacum (at or near Kirby Thore), where we are stopped by the regular defenders of the *linea valli*. We can hardly refuse to recognize the primary claims of Greta Bridge to be Concangium, the easternmost of the stations occupied by the four parties of scouts, and since they were anonymous we cannot be sanguine as to any extraneous help from inscriptions. The proximity of the stations at Bowes and Greta Bridge is accounted for by the dangerous nature of the duties required from the garrisons of these *Castra Exploratorum*, etc.

VIII., IX., X.—*Lavatræ* and *Verteræ* are so well ascertained that nothing more need be said about them. They occur in their proper order in the *Notitia*. As to *Braboniacum* and the itinerary *Galava*, both being at or near Kirby Thore, I observe that Hughes in his map gives two fortresses there, and as *Braboniacum* is excluded from the *linea valli*, while Iter X. is included in it, we may fairly infer that *Braboniacum* was the easternmost of the two.

XI.—The locality of “the prefect of the detachment of Solenses of *Maglova*” is a more perplexing subject. There being no good reason to disturb the identification of the succeeding stations *Magæ*, *Longovicum*, and *Derventio* with *Piersebridge*, *Lanchester*, and *Ebchester*, the writer now commencing a fresh series of forts leading in another way to the *linea valli*, which immediately follows, *Maglova*, not the residence of promiscuous outside defenders, but of named soldiers, is more likely to be near *Piersebridge* than to be near Kirby Thore. Besides, there is no available site for it near Kirby Thore, and it can hardly have been an isolated place in the carefully drawn *Notitia*. It is remarkable that there is no known defence at *Teesmouth*, but *Piersebridge*, though a large station, could scarcely have had the importance of a *Luguvallium*, a *Petrianæ*, or a *Mancunium*, and the nature of the *Tees* would not render its protection a necessity. It is difficult to bring in any of the *Cleveland* or other inland Yorkshire settlements, and the only feasible idea seems to be that *Maglova* represents one of the camps in the triangle between *Greta Bridge* and *Piersebridge* bounded by the *Tees* on the north and the two arms of *Watling Street* on two other sides.

XII., XIII., XIV.—*Magæ*, of a detachment of the *Pacenses* (*Piersebridge*), *Longovicum*, of a detachment of the *Longovicarii* (*Lanchester*, anciently *Langchester*), and *Derventio*, of the *Derventian* detachment (*Ebchester*, on the *Derwent*), require no comment, and the *linea valli* is soon reached. Horsley’s translation of *Derventio* by “a station on the river *Derwent*” is neat, and reminds one of *Danum*, *Arbeia*, and *Trent*, removing any remaining difficulty as to *Vindomora* and *Derventio* being practically the same.

With the next passage, “*Item per lineam valli*,” I abandon my numerals, and, having attempted to convey my impression that there is much method and no madness in the *Notitia*, will, referring to the ordinary books and my former paper, attempt to end at *Virosidum*,

without venturing upon the assumption or suggestion that the famous title *per lineam valli* ends at some point not disclosed by our present copies of the record.

From the easternmost station, formerly supposed to be clearly identified, the stations proceeding from east to west seem with one exception to be satisfactorily allocated in the same exact order which, to my mind, characterizes the outside stations already dealt with. The exception is Segedunum. One cannot well call Wallsend a *dunum*, and the inscriptional evidence as to the Lingones occurred at Tinmouth, opposite to Shields Law, which would satisfy the term. At the eastern, as well as at the western, termination of mural stonework, a succession of earthen barriers occurs, but if, on the west, the stations to which they led were included in the *linea*, there is no reason why that at the mouth of the Tyne should not be so also.

From AMBOGLANNA the courses of the Notitia and the Rudge Cup may be considered as coinciding, up to PETRIANÆ (Old Carlisle). There the Cup goes to Axelodunum (*Ellenborough*), the Notitia proceeding to ABALLABA (Papcastle), meeting the Cup arrived from Axelodunum and on its way to Maia (Hardknot Hill). The Notitia continue to CONGAVATA on the sea (Moresby), garrisoned by the second cohort of the Lingones removed from Ilkley (Arbeia), and, turning along the coast, arrive at AXELODUNUM, whence the Cup had departed, and passing *Gabrosentum* (Skinburness) on the *Waver*, complete the north-western defence at *Tunnoceum* (Bowness), the ocellum of the *Ituna* or Eden, the safeguard of Carlisle.

Having accomplished this enumeration, the Notitia proceed to the eastern defences in the Cumbrian parts of the districts so strongly guarded from sea to sea. They commence, like Iter X., which is followed, with GLANNIBANTA (Whitley Castle), Iter X. only viewing the road as a precious mineral one, and the Notitia having no object in rementioning Magna. Taking, for the like reason, and because it was just out of the line, no notice of Braboniacum, they note ALIONE of Iter X., and next note BREMETENRACUM, which was identified with Ribchester by Mr. Hinde through its Cuneus Sarmaturarum. Here I ended my paper, because I thought that the doubtfully-placed stations of the Cup and the Notitia had been identified from my own standpoint, and because it did not occur to me to impeach the ideas that the

concluding stations of the Notitia, Olenacum and Virosidum, were Ilkley and Adel. I now see that the method of the Notitia should have been better observed up to its ending, and that the writer's Roman-road onward course should have been detected, removing some grave difficulties.

Admitting that there is a Roman road from Ribchester to Ilkley and one from Ilkley through Adel to Tadcaster, it is in the last degree unlikely that the south-western boundary of the Brigantian territory, elsewhere so carefully protected, with that great centre of roads, Manchester (Mancunium), should be left at the mercy of the Scots. A sudden divergence from Iter X. to Ilkley and Adel along the Roman road was worse than at right angles, and what possible object could be gained by ending an elaborate system of defence, illustrated by the Notitia, at an insignificant place in, possibly, a hostile inland country?

These difficulties and the method of the Notitia have now induced me to follow Iter X. in its geographical and defensive course, rather than in its itinerary route to Mancunium, which, like the defended Lugu-vallium, is not mentioned in the Notitia, and we are led to a post on the Mersey in defence of Mancunium, and at the extreme boundary of the province of the Brigantes. The name of the post may possibly bear a trace of the word Virosidum. I am referring to Warrington, already presumed to be the Veratinum (somewhat near to Deva, Chester) of the Chorographia, a form of name not nearly so much removed from that of Virosidum as in similar cases. For the obvious right of Warrington, popularly pronounced Warratin, with its concurrence of Roman roads, its passage over the bounding river, and its obvious use to Manchester, to be a Roman station, I need only refer to Whitaker. He has, as I fear, been rather neglected as being fanciful, but to my mind there is much sterling stuff, interrupted it may be with fantasies, in Whitaker's "Manchester." He calls attention to the records of Doomsday, wherein Warrington is written Wallintun, and gives a couple of instances wherein R passes into L. I am a little doubtful as to his reasoning, and should be slow to admit that, on the same principle, L may not pass into R. However this may be, there is every cause for concluding that Wallintun, hodie Warrington, ought to be Virosidum, the end of the *linea valli*, completing a skilful military system directed against circumstances

whereof we wot not. The spellings by foreigners in Domesday Book cannot be depended upon.

I have anticipated Olenacum, which may or may not be Ptolemy's Olicana. It should be between Brementenracum and Virosidum, and, when I disagree with Whitaker as to identifying Blackrode, between Ribchester and Warrington, with Coccium, I cannot ignore its claims to be Olenacum. Without local knowledge, I offer no opinion. The country between Ribchester and Warrington should be carefully surveyed.

I wound up the paper intended to be read with some general observations as to the authorship and intention of the singular series of fortifications indicated in the Notitia; but the questions as to the state of the inland countries which were the care of the scouts and the cause of the vallum, as to the respective works of Theodosius and Stilicho, as to those of Hadrian and Severus, and, it may be added, as to those of others, are too mysterious for hasty study. I have endeavoured to show that the province of the Duke of Britain was bounded by the Tyne and Solway on the north, and by the Humber and Mersey on the south. This district has hitherto been recognised as that of the Brigantes and Parisii, and as Maxima Cæsariensis, Valentia being supposed to be upon the north of it. I merely follow Horsley in having misgivings as to the latter allocations. The nature of the enemies having the attention of the explorers, and the absence of stations along the east parts of Yorkshire and Durham, and in Britain generally, are subjects which should receive separate treatment. After every honest attempt to unfold a mystery, I think that the works between the Tyne and Eden are virgin soil for future antiquaries. I much fear that I may not have had local opinions before me; and, if I have trespassed upon the preserves of former writers, I beg pardon. At the risk, however, of finding that I may have stumbled upon a mare's nest, I think that it is right to print a reply to a question which I put. "The station which Warrington claims was not there but at Wilderspool in Cheshire, two miles away, and this station all our local antiquaries believe was Condate, which place is at the proper itinerary distance from Mediolanum-Middlewick, the next station south of the 10th Iter of Antonine."

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